

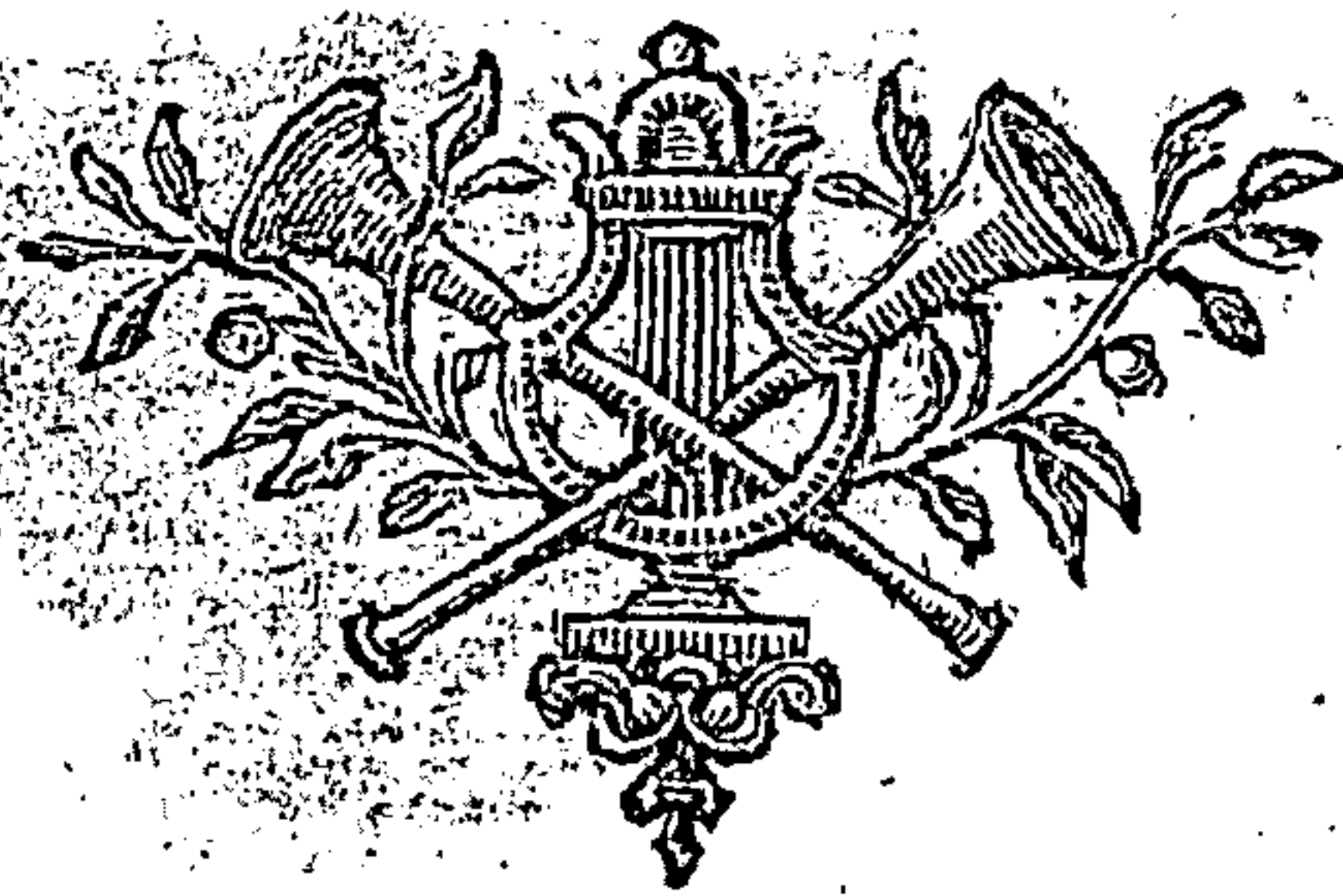
*From Capetian Library* 45  
**P L I N I U S**  
**P A N E G Y R I C K**

Upon the  
**Emperor *Trajan.***

Translated from the Latin  
By **G E O R G E S M I T H** Esq;

The **S E C O N D** EDITION.

Turbatam Rempublicam ubique accepi; pacatam etiam  
Britannis relinquo, senex et pedibus æger, firmum Imperium  
Antoninis meis relinquens, si boni erunt; imbecillum, si  
mali. *Ælius Spartanus in Vita Severi.*



L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN DARBY in Bartholomew-Close, and sold  
by W. MEADOWS in Cornhill, THO. ASTLEY in St.  
Paul's Church-yard, SAM. BIRT in Ave-mary-lane, and  
LAWTON GILLIVER in Fleet-street. M.DCC.XXX:







To her Royal Highness the  
Princess *SOPHIA*  
Of *HANOVER*,

The next declared Successor  
by Act of Parliament to the Im-  
perial Crowns of *England, France,*  
and *Ireland*, after her present Ma-  
jesty Queen *ANN* and her  
Issue.

*May it please your Highness,*

**T**H E Author whom I pre-  
sume to offer to your Roy-  
al Patronage translated into  
*English*, hath been by all acknow-  
ledged to have drawn the Picture of  
a most excellent *Roman Emperor*,  
raised up for the common Good and  
Safety of Mankind. 'Twas not a

iv      *The Dedication.*

near Alliance, Affinity, or Consanguinity that advanc'd him to the Imperial Purple, but an absolute Necessity to put a check and stop to the impending Fate of the *Roman Empire*. 'Tis no new thing it seems for Princes when in power to forget the Reasons of their Institution; and instead of being nursing Fathers to their People, to become Oppressors, Tyrants, and common Pests to the whole World. Thus did the Emperors *Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian*, whose Histories are well known, behave themselves; till having deviated from all the Rules of Vertue, and abandon'd themselves to all manner of Lust and Cruelty, they all died detested, and most of them obtain'd the just Reward of their Impiety. Much has been ever attributed to good and gracious Princes, and happy it were if their Vertues could be transmitted to their Posterities; that

## *The Dedication.* v

that their Successions might remain for ever without Interruption. But as it is known and avowed by all wise and good Men, that Princes from the first were instituted for the Good and Benefit of Mankind ; so when neither Sense of Duty to God, nor Regard of Men can induce them to execute the fatherly Office of a Prince : When Lust and Violence, Oppression and Cruelty become the only Study of their Lives, and constant Tenor of their Actions ; what can their Subjects do, but out of pity to themselves shake off the Yoke, and devolve the Care of the Common Welfare into safer and better Hands ?

'Tis a great Misfortune to the World, that Religion, which above all other things should make Men good, is in these latter Ages so very much perverted, that instead

A 3

of



of inculcating to Sovereign Princes the great and important Duties of their Charge, it hath notoriously insinuated far contrary Principles, and, to gratify the Ambition and Avarice of Church-men, hath pull'd down and ruin'd the lawful and just Rights and Liberties of the greatest Part of *Europe*. The Policy is now well known; tho past Remedy, especially in those Countries where the Popish Religion is established: provided the Prince protects the Church, that is the Ecclesiasticks, in their vast Estates, dissolute Immunities, and Exemptions from the Civil Authority and Jurisdiction, they never fail to assist the Prince in pillaging the Laity, and making it Rebellion, Heresy, Death, and Damnation for Subjects to dispute their Authority, or to have the Courage to defend their Own against the most  
Exor-

Exorbitant Demands or most Illegal Exactions of their Sovereigns. This is properly *Popery*, and the pernicious Principle which the good People of *England* ought for ever to be upon their Guard against. Nor are Christian Princes less concern'd to support their own lawful Prerogatives, than their Subjects are to maintain their just Rights and Properties. For it hath been visible for many Ages, that this Exorbitant Power of the Church hath enlarged it self into the Territories of all Christian Princes whatsoever; the Royal Authority hath been by it subjected to the Papal, so that no Prince who hath had the Courage to dispute it, hath been able to enjoy Peace in his own Dominions; for the Pope hath constantly an Army ready within their own Territories, as many Janizaries as there are Priests, Friars

Friars, Monks and Jesuits, and as many Cittadels and Castles as there are Monasteries and religious Houses. All these are subservient to his pretended Holiness, wherever they are seated or reside. Upon Excommunication thundred forth against any Christian Prince who proves an obstinate or sullen Son of the Church, his Subjects shall immediately be absolv'd their Oaths of Allegiance, and a *Clement, Garnet, or Ravallac* shall think they do God good Service to kill or murder him.

'Tis not, God knows, Religion all this while, or a Pious concern for the Salvation of Mens Souls, that makes this stir in the World, but the Ambition and Tyranny of the Clergy, to lord it over their fellow Creatures, and to maintain themselves in Pomp, in Pride and in Luxury, to have the secular Prince become their Vassal, to kiss their Feet, and do their  
drud-



drudgeries. The rest of the World are but their Beasts of Burden, Mules and Asses, bred up at least in equal Ignorance, and so they yield an implicate passive Obedience to what the Church commands; 'tis no matter what other notions they have of Religion, whether any or none at all. How much happier those Countries are who have freed themselves from this worse than *Egyptian* Bondage, every unprejudic'd Person who hath travel'd abroad well knows. But how many steps have been made among us for returning back to it again, 'tis a shame to think. I will not presume to mention any thing that shall be reflecting on any of our Kings since *James* the First, further than what is obvious to every considering Man in *England*, who remembers the Reign and Exit of *James* the Second. 'Tis well known that the Protestant Religion, and  
par-

## x *The Dedication.*

particularly the Church of *England* as by Law established, were struck at ; the Bishops imprisoned, our Foundations and Colleges in the University violently seiz'd and entered : A Dispensing Power was set up in the State, the Charters of the City of *London*, and of most other Corporations in *England* condemn'd and seiz'd ; *Ireland* put into Popish hands, with many other particulars. But to compleat and perpetuate our Ruin, a supposititious and pretended Prince of *Wales* was impos'd and obtruded upon the three Kingdoms. These were in truth *the Hardships* that her present Majesty and the Nation underwent : But God be praised for those most excellent and never to be forgotten Princes, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, whom the Divine Goodness raised up to be the Instruments of our Deliverance. I might here have a very Copious Subject to en-

enlarge upon, were I capable to become a Panegyrist, and might very properly apply the Parallel from my Author: but as I well know they abhor'd any thing that look'd like Flattery whilst they liv'd, so I will not presume to pollute their Sepulchers with it now they are Dead. Be it sufficient that through their endeavours, by God's assistance, we are neither Slaves nor forc'd to become Papists; and that if in any thing they fail'd, 'twas not to be imputed to a want of Inclination in them to have done us much more good, but to the Iniquity of the times they liv'd in that would not suffer them. God Almighty for our Sins hath remov'd them from us, but to a far more happy Station for them, where the Society of Saints and Angels infinitely outweighs the perverse Conduct and thwarting Tempers of too too many that disturb'd their Quiet, and obstruct-



structed their compleating what they had so happily begun, and most undoubtedly design'd to finish, that is, the Peace of *Europe*, and particularly the Prosperity of these three Nations, together with the common good of the Reform'd Religion throughout the World. The Loss, 'tis true, is most Deplorable ; yet still the same good Providence that rais'd up them, hath preserv'd a Successor, her present Majesty Queen *ANNA*, who now gloriously fills the Throne, and may her Reign be Long and Prosperous. She hath begun very Auspiciously in seconding the good intentions of the late King, by confirming his Alliances abroad, and undertaking a just and necessary War for the defence of Christendom. But in nothing hath her Royal Bounty been more acceptable than in her Declaration for continuing the Succession in the Protestant Line,

## *The Dedication.* xiii

Line, and as a Confirmation of it, ordering your Highnesses Royal Name to be inserted in the Liturgy and publick Prayers. May a good understanding ever be maintain'd between you; for upon your agreement or disagreement depend the hopes and fears not only of *England* but of *Europe*. Great Opportunities are now put into both your hands of doing infinite Good to Mankind in general: the reducing of the exorbitant Power of *France*, and bringing the other Powers of *Europe* to a juster Ballance, are Glorious Undertakings. Next to this, the adjusting the Sovereign Power, and the Peoples Liberties to a true and rational Standard, are no less valuable at home; and chiefly since the very Fundamentals of our *English* Constitution have by length of time and other accidents been greatly altered; to preserve our Government upon its antient Basis, that the Clashing  
of

of Prerogative and Liberty do not one day cast us either into a Despotick Tyranny or an Anarchical Confusion. The former of these Considerations took up the whole business of the last Reign, and her present Majesty seems to have Work cut out of the same sort to employ many Years upon. The best Opportunity that ever fell into any Princes Hands to have settled these divided Nations, happen'd to K. *Charles II.* but he had other Objects to divert him. The contest between the Crown and Subject, which had been fatal to his Royal Father, was left by him in a manner just as it was when the late War began; and in his Successor K. *James II.*'s days, that was only and barefac'dly avowed, which in former days had been *but* suspected. 'Tis now to be hoped, that experience hath, or one day will satisfy every Man, that the thing this King-

dom



## *The Dedication.*      xv

dom wants, is only a Prince so far at ease from Foreign Wars, as to have Leisure to look after our Constitution at home, and to have a *Will* as well as Power to take care of it. Whosoever shall take a view of the Alterations which have happened in our Government, must look back at least as far as to the Reign of K. *Henry VII.* What it was before, and what it ought to be always, at least in great measure, hath been delivered by that Eminent *English* Lawyer and great Statesman Sir *John Fortescue*, who was Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor to K. *Henry VI.* and wrote his incomparable Book *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ* for the use of Prince *Edward* that King's only Son. Tho the Book be of so long standing, yet its Age derogates nothing from its Value. That unfortunate Prince lived not to make use of it, being unhappily slain in, or rather

ther

## xvi      *The Dedication.*

ther slaughter'd the next day after the Battel of *Tewkesbury*. Under K. *Edward IV.* and *Richard III.* the Constitution remain'd the same; and so down to K. *Henry VII.* the Persons only, not the Government being changed. But that provident King having in his own time seen to what height of Power the Nobility were risen, so high that one single Person, *Nevil Earl of Warwick* and *Salisbury*, and eldest Son to the House of *Westmoreland*, was capable to pull down *Henry VI.* and set up *Edward IV.* and then to encounter him again in the Field, and drive him out of the Kingdom, and but for an accident that befel the said Earl and his Brother the Marquis of *Montacute* at *Barnet* Fight, to have been able to do what they pleased: I say, this great and wise K. *Hen. VII.* be-thinks him how to put a stop to this overgrown Power of the Nobility;

But

*The Dedication.* xvii

but the Remedy hath proved worſe to the Crown than the Diſeaſe, and by degrees hath brought on other Infractions, which have abſolutely broken the Ballance of our antient *Engliſh* Conſtitution, as ſhall be ſhewn. The antient Nobility of *England*, who held of the Crown by Barony, was great and powerful, ſince the Policy of K. *Hen. 7th*, who allowed them to alienate their Fees, and yet retain their Peerage. The vaſt Eſtates that have been forfeited by Attainders, the Miſeries of the late Civil War, and the looſe and extravagant way of living *altogether in London*, ſince the Reſtoration of K. *Ch. 2d*, have brought the Nobility too Low. However, for their Honour be it ſpoken, they have in the two laſt Parliaments gain'd more upon the Affections of the People of *England*, than at any time for almoſt theſe two hundred Years laſt paſt. The real

B Wealth



## xviii     *The Dedication.*

Wealth of *England* consists undoubtedly in Land; and it seems to me that antiently the Crown, the Church, the Nobility, and the Commons held almost equal Shares. How the Nobility came to fail, hath been said already. The great Diminution suffered by the Church, was under King *Henry* the VIII. and by the vast profusion of King *James* the First and his Successors; (nay Queen *Elizabeth* her self was even too bountiful.) The Crown Lands and Fee-farm Rents have been in a manner totally dissipated, so that the vast Bulk both of Land and Trade now manifestly remains among the Commons of *England*. What effects these Alterations in our Antient Constitution have produced within the time that passed between the Death of King *Henry* the Seventh, and the miserable  
Fall

Fall of King Charles the First, which makes no more than one hundred forty nine Years, I leave to any that have read those Histories, and particularly the beginning and ending of our late Civil War. Without the Benevolence then of the Commons of *England*, the Crown hath at this day little or no Revenue, either to support it self, the Civil List, or to carry on Foreign Wars or Treaties : So that if it be an undisputable Maxim, *That where the Wealth of a Nation lies, there will be the Power* ; it looks as tho the danger of falling under a Popular, rather than a Regal Government, seem'd most to threaten. But the effect hath already shewn the contrary : For when in the late Times the Crown was fatally fallen, and the House of Lords laid by as useless and dangerous, the *Usurper* found it would not hold ; and therefore, tho with

## xx      *The Dedication.*

but the name of a Protector, he had assum'd a greater and more boundless Authority than any of our Kings before him, he was forc'd to set up another House of Lords, such as they were; and when He went off the Stage, and the Power seem'd to be reverted back again to the Commons, what had we but Confusion for about two Years? and were then forc'd to call home the Royal Family, and with them to restore our Antient Form of Government. There is somewhat that's ~~two~~ Generous in the Nature of our *English* Gentry to be govern'd by our Representatives, who are in effect no other than our Servants. We must have a Sovereign at the Head of us. The great Art of management will be for the Crown to be *in Interest, as 'tis in Authority, the*  
*Head*



## *The Dedication.* xxi

*Head and Chief of the Commonwealth, and to have no separate Interest from it. The Simily will hold here between a Body Politick and a Body Natural. 'Twas well observ'd by a Foreigner, as Sir William Temple relates it, that Un Roy d'Engleterre, qui veut estre l'homme de son Peuple, est le plus Grand Prince du monde ; mais s'il veut estre autre chose, Il n'est plus par Dieu Rien: that is, A King of England, who resolves to be Beloved of his People, is the greatest Prince in the World: But if it be otherwise, he is from thenceforth just nothing at all. Let but the People of England be well satisfied that the Crown designs only the publick Welfare, to administer Justice equally and duly, to maintain the publick Peace at home and Abroad, to protect every individual peaceable Man in the pro-*

B 3

fession

## xxii     *The Dedication.*

cession of his Religion, and in his Property : Let the Nobility be advanced, the Church of *England* maintain'd, the Hopes of the pretended Prince of *Wales* and his Abettors be extinguish'd, Trade preserv'd, and the Commons cherish'd, and there can no Danger arise from a Republican or Commonwealth Party in *England*. A King or Queen of *England*, who acts upon these Principles, shall for ever have the Hearts of their People ; and then, like Queen *Elizabeth*, they shall never want their Purses to support the Dignity of the Crown. As we are well satisfied that this is the only aim of her present Majesty, so we have assured hopes that in case of her Demise, which we pray God long to defer, your Highness, or at least your Posterity, will in all respects proceed

*The Dedication.*      xxiii

ceed and follow Her Example.  
And that both Her Majesty and  
your Highness may be ever hap-  
py in such Councils, is the hearty  
Prayer of every true *English* Man,  
who wishes the common Good  
and Welfare of his Country, especial-  
ly,

M A D A M, that of

Your Highnesses most Humble,

and Most Devoted Servant,

*G. SMITH.*



## E R R A T A.

**P**A G. 14. l. 19, 20. r. *openly*. P. 17. l. 9. r. *powerful*. *But the Policy, &c.* l. 12. put ; after *Peerage*. P. 18. l. 12. dele the *Semicolon*. l. 14. dele the *full point*. P. 20. l. 16. r. *too*. P. 30. l. 10. r. *themselves*. P. 46. l. 27. r. *receiv'd*. P. 63. l. 8. dele *little*. P. 78. l. 26. put , after *levied*. P. 79. l. 22, 23. r. *This, Sir, is Great of it self*. P. 87. l. 28. and 153. l. 4. r. *Treasury*. P. 95. l. 6. r. *condemn*. P. 108. l. 6. put , after *Stage*. P. 109. l. 13. for *piece* r. *prize*. P. 112. l. 2. put , after *Fame*, and ; after *be*. P. 116. l. 12. r. *Quintins*. P. 147. l. 26. r. *retain'd*. P. 167. l. 16. r. *Stars*.

---

## To the R E A D E R.

**I**T may be objected perhaps by some, that the printing of this Translation might have been omitted, as having been done not many Years ago by Mr. White Kennet, late of Edmund-Hall in Oxford. The truth is, I had made a considerable Progress in the Book before I so much as heard of Mr. Kennet's having translated it: And therefore tho the World hath been obliged to him for many extraordinary Performances of this sort, yet I may safely say I have no way borrowed of him here, having not so much as seen one Page of his Translation till I had wholly finished my own.

I could not but greatly approve that delicate Abridgment of the Roman History by Mr. Echard. 'Twas his Labour that set me to work, Leisure and the Country also inviting. The chief Assistance

## xxvi      The Preface.

*tance I had in it, I must acknowledg to an Italian Translation, printed in Columns with the Original, which I found at, and brought with me from Venice in the Year 84. 'Tis done it seems by a Clergyman there, called Don Gio. Agustiono Lengueglia of the Congregation or Order of Somasca. The Impression bears date at Venice in the Year 1670. and is dedicated to Signior Alvise Mocenigo, one of the Procurators of St. Mark. For the Dedication it self, it little imports to our present purpose, as containing scarce any thing but the Compliment of the Italian Translator to his particular Patron; saving that, for the Honour of that Noble Family, he tells him that the World is indebted to the Memory of his Ancestor Signior Lewis Mocenigo, who in the former Age had been Ambassador to the Crown of France; that in that Embassy he had the Happiness to recover the only Manuscript perhaps remaining of this Author, who till then had for many Ages past lain dormant.*

*Pliny's*



# Pliny's Panegyrick

Upon the

## Emperor *Trajan*.

**T**WAS well and wisely ordain'd,  
 most Reverend Fathers, by our  
 Ancestors, that not only all  
 great Actions, but Orations  
 should commence with Invocation; *Be-  
 cause Men can never prudently nor prosperous-  
 ly undertake any thing but by the Advice,  
 Assistance, and Adoration of the Immortal  
 Gods:* a Custom by none fitter to be ob-  
 serv'd than by a Consul, when by Decree  
 of the Senate, and Authority of the Com-  
 monwealth, he is appointed to return  
 publick Thanks to the best of Princes.  
 What greater or more valuable Blessing  
 could Heaven have shower'd down upon  
 us, than a chaste and pious Emperor, most  
 resembling the Gods themselves? More-  
 over, were it not determined whether the  
 Gover-

Governors of the World were appointed by meer Chance, or by the especial Providence of the Gods, it would yet be manifest that our Prince reign'd by the Divine Appointment. Nor was he chosen by any private or sudden Accident, but by the Gods apparently amidst their Temples and their Altars within the self-same Place [the Capitol] where the Divine Power resides as manifestly as amongst the Stars. Wherefore, as both Duty and Piety require, I implore thee, O Great and Mighty *Jupiter*, by whom the *Roman* Empire was at the beginning founded, and hath been hitherto maintain'd, that thou would'st vouchsafe me an Oration worthy of a Consul, of the Senate, and of the Imperial Majesty; that Truth and Freedom may appear in all I say, and that I may be as far from Flattery as the Occasion is it self remote.

I'm of opinion then that both the Consuls, and the People of *Rome* ought so to express themselves, as to say nothing of our present Emperor, which could be any ways applied to any of his Predecessors. Away then with those timorous Expressions which our Fears have hitherto suggested! We have no reason to repeat them now, because our Case is altered; nor are we forc'd in publick to dissemble, and to re-  
pine



pine at our Prince in private. The World may now see by the Frankness of our Speech, that the Times are chang'd ; and it is also evident by the free Access we enjoy, that we are no more requir'd to flatter our Emperors as Gods. For 'tis not a Tyrant, but a Fellow-Citizen ; not so much a Sovereign as a Parent, whom we have to treat of. He's one of us ; and what's most valuable in his Character, he esteems himself as such. *Nor does he think himself above Human Kind, because Mankind are subject to his Authority.* Let us understand therefore our own Happiness, and behave our selves like Subjects worthy of his Care ; at the same time reflecting which is the better State, *To obey a Prince who allows the Liberty, or one who exacts the Slavery of the People ?*

May the *Roman* People long enjoy their belov'd Prince : And as before the Multitude in the publick Theaters, by a compulsive piece of Flattery, were forc'd to commend the Beauty of *Domitian* ; let them resound the Praises of *Trajan's* Strength : Instead of *Nero's* Fiddling and Singing with the Mimick Gestures of his Dancing, let them commend the Piety, Abstinence and Bounty of the present Emperor. If the Vulgar be thus employed, how shall we [the Senators] behave our selves ?



selves? Shall we celebrate him as a Deity, or every Man of us, according to the Love and Joy we have conceived, sound forth the Praises of his Humanity, Temperance, and Candour? How worthy and becoming the Senate is that Title of *Optimus* [the Best of Emperors] which we have given him? a Stile which the Arrogance of former Princes hath made peculiar to himself. Moreover, how perfectly and justly does the whole Body of the People express *their own Happiness*, when they congratulate *the Emperors*? And how sincere their Joy, when they contend to shew and make him sensible of it, for no other reason than because he hath deserved it? Expressions which overcame his Modesty to Tears, as knowing they were not given to his Quality, but to his Person.

Wherefore from the Temper we have already shewn in the sudden Transport of our Affections, we may rest assured that there cannot be a more sincere nor a more acceptable sort of Gratitude than that which hath not time to be counterfeited. For my own part I shall endeavour to adapt my Speech to the Modesty and Moderation of the Emperor, not consulting so much what he can bear the hearing, as what his great Vertue deserves.

'Tis a great and an unusual Glory to a Prince, that being to receive the Publick Thanks, we are not so much afraid of being sparing in his Commendation, as that he should think we are superfluous. This is the only Care and Difficulty I have upon me : For, my Lords, 'tis an easy matter to return Thanks where they are due. Here's no danger, when I speak of his Humanity, that he should think I reproach him for his Pride ; or that when I treat of his Frugality, he should imagine I upbraid him as luxurious ; or when I commend his Clemency, he should interpret it his Cruelty ; when I describe his Liberality, that he should think I call him Covetous ; that by his Benignity, I should mean his Choler ; by his Chastity, his Lust ; by his Labours, his Laziness ; or that I should ironically mean his Fear, when I commend his Valour. Nor am I furthermore afraid, that what I say should be well or ill resented, as I seem to magnify or to extenuate the Subject. Besides, I am well convinc'd, *That even the Gods are better pleased with the Innocence and Sanctity of those that worship them, than with the Eloquence or Accuracy of their Petitions ; and that those Votaries are more welcome at their Shrines who bring a chaste and upright Meaning with them, than if they*



*they offered up a studied and harmonious Hymn.*

But I must obey the Order of the Senate, who for the Publick Good hereafter have enjoin'd it me as Consul, under the Notion of returning Thanks, *To let good Princes know wherein they have done well, and bad ones what was their Duty to have done.* I am warranted to be the more solemn on the occasion, because the Emperor hath forbidden all private Addresses, as he would also this in publick had not the Senate interposed. You have in both, Great Sir, express'd your Moderation in forbidding it elsewhere, and in allowing of it here; an Honour done not to your self, but unto us who are your humble Suppliants. You have been pleased to accept our good Affections, in permitting us to celebrate your Bounty; We add only as our further Request, that you would vouchsafe to hear us.

I have often then, My Noble Lords, contemplated how highly that Person ought to be endow'd, by whose Direction all Affairs both by Sea and Land, in Peace and War, were to be managed; and when in my own Imagination I had form'd a Prince worthy to be invested with the Authority of the Gods themselves, I profess to you that never any yet occur'd to me  
more



more proper than the Prince before us. Some have been fam'd in War, but in Peace have dwindle'd ; others for Eloquence, but not for Arms : Some have been obey'd for fear, others have obtain'd the Love of Mankind for their Humanity : Some have lost at home the Reputation they had gain'd abroad, others again abroad what they had obtain'd at home. In short, there hath never yet appear'd that Prince whose Vertues had not some Alloy of Vice to sully them : But for our present Emperor, what a Harmony is there in the Mouths of all Men, celebrating his Praises, and the Glory of his great Atchievements? The Gravity, Severity, nor Majesty of his Aspect are in the least wise lessened by Levity, want of Assurance, nor overweening Modesty. Besides, his tall and well-built Person, his generous Voice and Countenance, added to the Maturity of his Years, already through the Bounty of the Gods accompanied with Grey Hairs, they are great and honourable Tokens of a worthy Prince.

Such of necessity must he be, whom neither intestine Wars, nor the Commonwealth oppress'd with civil Discord, but a profound Peace, a voluntary Adoption, and the Gods propitious to our Prayers have given us. And is there not a Difference

rence between a Prince set up by Men, and one appointed by the Gods? Their Favour and Suffrage visibly appear'd, Great Sir, towards you, when you first appear'd in the Army. Other Princes have been forc'd to consult and sooth the Priests and Augurs to be assur'd of their Election by the Signs and Tokens appearing in the Sacrifices; but you no sooner mounted the Stairs of the Capitol among the Citizens, at that time ignorant of the matter, but you were immediately saluted Emperor. For as the Multitude when you went in, waited the opening of the Gates to have perform'd their Prayers to *Jupiter* as their Supreme Governor, the Event shew'd that you were the Person destin'd. 'Twas a happy Omen of your future Government, that you were unwilling to receive the News, that you refus'd the Advantages of being Emperor; we were even obliged to force you, nor could we yet prevail but for the impending Dangers of your Country. 'Twas fully evident that you had never accepted the Empire but for the sake of its Preservation. Wherefore I for my part am perfectly convinc'd that the Noise and Mutiny in the Camp was purposely committed, because they knew your Modesty was not to be overcome but by Force and Terror. For as both by Sea and Land the  
Air



Air grows clearest after Storms and Tempests, so I look upon those Tumults to have been Presages of the happy Peace we enjoy under you. The Condition of mortal Men is liable to these Vicissitudes: *That Adversity takes its Rise from Prosperity, and Prosperity from Adversity. God Almighty only knows the Occasions, and many times the Causes both of Good and Evil lie variously conceal'd from us.*

'Twas a prodigious Disgrace to the very Age, besides a dangerous Wound to the State and Government, to have the Emperor, the common Father of his Country, besieged, taken, and confin'd; the good old Gentleman not being allowed the Power of saving Mens Lives, and denied the happiest Part of his Government, which was *to have nothing done by Violence.* But if these Occasions help'd to advance your Majesty to the Helm of Government, whereby you were enabled to preserve us all, I could almost rejoice that they occur'd.

The Discipline of the Army was corrupt, that you might have the Honour of restoring it; the worst Examples were given, that you might appear and shew a better Pattern. Nay, the Emperor was obliged to execute Men against his Will, to the end that another Emperor should



arise whose Clemency could not be forc'd. You deserv'd long since to be adopted, but we should not have known how greatly the Empire had been indebted to you had it been done sooner. The time will come when 'twill be apparent that you have not received from, but confer'd a Favour upon the Empire. The tottering State took sanctuary within your Bosom; and the good old Emperor sinking under the Weight of Government, devolv'd it by his own Desire to you. You were invited, and the Adoption cast upon you in the self-same manner, as our great Generals heretofore were wont to be recalled from Wars abroad, and to have the civil Employments of the State confer'd upon them. In the same manner the Emperor *Nerva* as a Father, you as a Son, mutually perform'd the noblest Action. He confer'd the Empire upon you, and you restor'd it to him by your Acceptance. You are the only Person in this Age who hath made a full return for so great a Bounty, nay beyond the nature of the Obligation, only by accepting it: For you being advanced to the Empire, undergo the Weight, and he enjoys the Honour and the Safety of it. A new and an unparallel'd Method to obtain a Kingdom, not through your own Avarice or Jealousy,  
but

but for the publick Good and Safety of Mankind. Men may think it perhaps a mighty thing that you are thus advanc'd ; but you left for it a much happier Condition : that is to say, tho the Empire was happy under a benign and gracious Prince, you deny'd your self the Satisfaction of your beloved Retirement, and suffer'd your self to be taken up as Partner of the Cares and Labours of the Government : For 'tis not the pleasant nor the prosperous Part, but the hard and difficult which they have cast on you. You undertook the Empire, when another Person had repented him of his being advanced. You had no relation to the former Emperor, nor was there any reason for your Adoption upon that account, saving that both of you being Persons of the highest Merit, he was worthy to make the choice, and you to be elected. You were not therefore adopted like other Princes formerly for the sake of a Wife, for he made you his Son, not as a Father-in-law, but as a Prince. For *Nerva* was no more a Parent to you, than as he was the common Father of the Country ; nor was it fit a Prince should make choice of a Son for any other reason or purpose. What ? should the Senate and People of *Rome*, the Army, the Provinces, with our Confe-

C 3

derates,



derates, be transfer'd to a Successor only for a Wife's sake: Or should the Emperor have sought a Successor within the Walls of his own House only? Should he not much rather have cast his Eyes throughout the City, and have esteem'd him as his nearest Kinsman, whom he found *the Best, the Worthiest, and most Upright Person?* The Emperor who governs all, ought to be chosen by the Consent of all; for 'twas not a Steward over his own private Inheritance, but a *Prince* to govern the Empire, that the Emperor had to appoint. It had been a proud and insolent Action not to have adopted him, whom all Men knew destin'd to the Empire, tho the Ceremony of Adoption had been omitted. Thus did *Nerva*, little regarding whether you became his Son by Election or by Nature, since Children are both adopted and begotten without their Parents being assur'd how they will prove; saving that Men more easily submit to, and bear with a Prince whom his Father has unhappily begotten, than with one whom he hath more unhappily chosen. Wherefore with great Industry he avoided this Misfortune, not consulting the Judgments of Men only, but of the Gods. For the Ceremony of your Adoption was not perform'd in the Bed-chamber,



ber, nor in the Lodgings of your Bride, but in the Temple before the Altars of the Gods; by which means not the Slavery, but the Liberty, Peace and Safety of the People were secur'd. The Gods challeng'd this Glory to themselves. This was their Work and Influence; *Nerva* was but their Minister, and you both yielded Obedience only to their Decrees. The Laurel was brought from *Hungary* by permission of the Gods, to the end that Ensigns of Victory might adorn the first appearing of a fortunate Emperor. The Emperor *Nerva* had no sooner offer'd this to *Jupiter*, but with a graver and more majestick Air than usual amidst the Assemblies both of Men and Gods he acknowledg'd you his Son; that is, he assum'd you as a Companion in the weighty Burden of the Government. Then as having devested himself of the Imperial Dignity, with what Honour, Joy and Safety did he withdraw? (for there's little difference in parting with and in dividing the Authority, saving that the latter is more difficult) depending as much upon you, as if you had been there present, and casting all the Care both of himself, and of the Government upon your Shoulders, Youth and Vigor; all Disturbances immediately disappear'd. This was no

C 4

Effect

Effect of the Adoption, but of the Person adopted ; for the Emperor had done rashly if he had nominated another Person. We all remember that the Sedition did not end, but began even after the Adoption : And it had been a most exorbitant Rebellion had not the Election fallen on you. 'Tis no wonder that the Emperor could not appoint his Successor, who had himself lost his Authority ; therefore for your sake the Storm blew over. Then were you immediately declar'd the Emperor's Heir, saluted *Cæsar*, made Partner of the Supreme Authority, and had every thing besides confer'd upon you, which *Vespasian* not long since with utmost difficulty did devolve to one of his real Sons.

'Twas a mighty Instance of your Moderation, that being declared not only the Successor, but the Companion and Partner of the Empire, you yet gave no occasion to the Emperor *Nerva*, nor his Friends to have complained. His Successor you was of necessity, being adopted, but for the Partnership 'twas in his own choice. Is it a thing to be believed hereafter, that a Person descended from a Father of the *Patrician* Rank, who had been Consul, and who had triumph'd at the Head of a numerous and well-affected Army ; that this Man, I say, should not be  
chosen



chosen Emperor by the Army? who having subdued *Germany*, and by the Senate been decreed the Title of *Germanicus*, should yet forgo it: That he should neither act nor do any thing towards his Advancement to the Empire, but deserve it by his Obedience. For as you were a General, you obey'd, and by your Obedience you became Emperor; nor did you in any thing shew your self so much a Subject, as when you assumed the Government. Tho you were declared *Cæsar*, and Emperor, with the Title of *Germanicus* added in your absence, and without your knowledge, yet for your own part you remained a private Person. 'Twould seem a Prodigy to say it, you would not know you were to be Emperor; 'twas done without your Privy; and when the Express came with the News of your good Fortune, you had rather have continued what you were, but could not be allow'd. What? would you not as a Citizen obey the Consul? as a General follow the Orders of the Emperor? as a Son yield Obedience to a Father? What became of the Authority and Custom settled by our Ancestors of observing promptly and readily what the Emperor commands? Suppose he had commanded you to shift your Province, and to have led the Army upon some foreign

reign



reign Expedition. Think you, you ought not to have obey'd him with the same Duty when he recalled you to the Empire, as when he sent you to command the Army? Or that there's any difference in being commanded out as a General, or being recall'd as a Prince? Unless it be that there is greater Honour in obeying, when the Command goes against the Humour of the Party commanded. The Danger the Emperor's Authority was in, was an Addition to his Command; and your Readiness in obeying him was the more valuable, for that he was so little observ'd by others. Besides this, you had the Consent of the Senate and People; 'twas not the single Judgment of *Nerva*, but *their Election*: All Men wish'd it, he in right of his Prerogative had the Power; and did that of himself first which all People besides desir'd. Nor would the Action have been so universally agreeable when done, had it not been every Man's Desire before.

But good God! with what Temper have you managed both your Fortune and your Power! for being honour'd with the Title of Emperor, with Statues, and with Trophies, yet in Modesty, Labour, and Diligence you have perform'd the Station of a General, of a private Cap-  
tain.

tain, nay of a common Soldier, having advanced privately to the City before the Eagles, Standards, and military Equipage could follow you. Nor has the Adoption inspir'd you with other Thoughts, than those of Piety and filial Obedience; wishing long Life and Honour to the Emperor. Providence exalted you to the first and highest, you desired to remain and to have waited longer in a lower Station; wishing to have been reputed but a private Person while the other Emperor liv'd. Your Prayers were heard, but in concurrence with the pious and good old Emperor's, whom Heaven immediately received, that after so glorious and divine an Action, he might intervene no more in secular Affairs. So great and worthy, and so unheard of an Action was fit to be his last; and nothing fitter, than that the Author of it should be receiv'd, and by Posterity be deem'd a God. He was the Common Father, in no respect so singular as when he adopted you; 'twas his unparallel'd Glory when he saw how well the Empire sat upon your Shoulders, that he left the World to you, and you to it. In this his Memory is to be beloved and valued, that he took care the Empire should not want him when he was dead and gone. You as an obedient and dutiful Son attend-  
ed



ed at his Funeral with Tears, and afterwards erected Temples to his Memory, not as others had done upon like occasions formerly. *Tiberius* deified *Augustus*, that he might annex Deity forsooth to Majesty. *Nero* did the same to his Uncle *Claudius*, only to deride him. *Titus* did the like to *Vespasian*, and *Domitian* to *Titus*; the one that he might be the Son, the other (out of Vanity) that he might be esteem'd the Brother of a God. You have fix'd and settled your Father among the Gods, not in Terror to the People, in contempt to the Deities, nor for your own Honour; but because you thought he deserv'd the Station. This is less than they did who thought as goodly of themselves as Gods. For tho you have honour'd him with Altars, Oratories, and with Priests attending, you make his Divinity consist in nothing more than this, that you your self resemble him. For the surest Sign and Token of a Prince's Divinity is, *That e'er he died, he named his Successor, and left a good one.* Nothing of Arrogance can be imputed to you upon the account of your Father's deifying; you rather imitated the antient Glory of our Ancestors, than those later Examples of Pride and Sloth, who laid claim to Divine Honours. I speak of those our Ancestors who laid the first Foundation



dation of the Empire, of late invaded and despis'd by the Enemy ; who when they happen'd to be defeated and put to flight, our Emperors took no farther care than to celebrate an extravagant Triumph. Wherefore the conquered Countries withdrawing their Obedience, and endeavouring to shake off the Yoke, they pretended not only to their own Liberty, but that the *Romans* should become their Subjects : nor would they accept Conditions from us but upon equal Terms, nor receive the Law at our Hands, but that they might be free to give it in their own Country : But now they are all return'd to themselves again, and to a just esteem of their Governors. For we have now to lead us one of our antient *Roman* Generals, a Person who has acquir'd the Empire by Victories obtain'd by Sea and Land. Now the Enemy sends us Hostages, we don't buy them, nor make our Bargains at vast Expences with our Invaders to retire, and then make our Brags that we subdued them. If they intreat, beseech and supplicate, we now with equal Authority either deny or grant them their Requests. They are thankful if they obtain, nor dare they murmur if denied : or if they durst, they know that you have engag'd the fiercest Nations,  
and

and at those Seasons of the Year which were most favourable to them, and most adverse to us; when the *Danube* was frozen over, and bore prodigious Armys upon the Ice; when the barbarous Nations appear'd not more formidable for their Arms than for their Climate; no sooner did you approach, but as if the Summer were already come, they betook themselves to their Woods and Fastnesses, whilst your own Army foraged abroad at pleasure, and turn'd the Rigor of the Season not to their own, but to their Enemies Disadvantage.

If the Enemy hath this Veneration for you, what hath your own Army? what Love and Admiration have not you obtain'd there? when for your sake they endure both Thirst and Hunger; and all because they see their General sweating and toiling with them in the Field, in no kind differing from the meanest Sentinel, but in his extraordinary Strength and Valour. When you are one while attacking the Enemy, otherwhiles receiving their Assaults, commending even your Enemies Courage when you receive a heavier shock upon your Helm or Buckler (for you even commended them for their Fierceness, and bid them advance boldly, as indeed they did) when at the beginning of the  
Fight



Fight you your self commanded, and led on your Army, dared their Flights of Arrows ; and if any Post appear'd more dangerous, you in your own Person sustain'd it. How were they not affected when they saw you taking care of the Sick and Wounded ? *It never was your custom to withdraw your self to your Tent till you had view'd your Men, nor to take your Rest till the last Guard was set.* 'Tis no wonder to hear of such Heroick Actions antiently perform'd among the *Fabricii*, the *Scipios*, and *Camillus's* ; for in those days there was that Emulation, that every Man strove to exceed each other : but since Men have left off the Study of Arms to gratify their voluptuous Senses ; and when instead of brave old Officers who had won the Civick or the Mural Coronet, we are taken up only with our *Greek* Language or Fencing-masters ; 'tis rare indeed to find a *Roman* Nobleman delighted with the antient Honour of his Country, and without a Rival strive to exceed himself ; and being solely Emperor, be the only Person worthy of the Dignity.

These were your beginnings, and the Early Proofs of your further promising Valour ; that being but yet a Youth, you return'd with Honour to your Country, with your Gallant Father from the *Parthians*



*thian* Conquest, and even then deserv'd the Title of *Germanicus* : you no sooner heard of the Pride and Fierceness of the *Parthians*, but you brought down their Stomachs, and fill'd all that vast Country between the *Euphrates*, and the *Rhine*, with the Fame and Glory of your Atchievements. 'Tis not so much your Person, as your Name that has travel'd through all Countries, being always dearest and most Renowned where you last parted : And all this before you were yet Emperor, or honour'd with the Adoption of a Deity. And when multitudes of barbarous Nations had seiz'd upon, and fortify'd themselves in *Germany*, and throughout all that tract betwixt the *Pyrenean* Mountains, the Alps, and other Mountains ; through all these vast Territories as you led, or rather hurried the Legions (such was your Expedition) you ne'er regarded what Chariot, nor what Horse you us'd, as not valuing your own ease, but the Conveniency of your March ; never using your best and manag'd Horses, but upon days of Exercise or Combat, when you were obliged to be here and there, and every where throughout the whole Army. I know not which to admire most, the beginning, or the ending of your Expedition ; 'twas much you could

could go through it, and much more that you doubted not your own strength. I no way question but that the Emperor *Domitian*, who during those *German Wars* recall'd you out of *Spain*, as his own chief support, and safe-guard, himself being but a sluggish Prince, and envious of the vertuous Characters of other Men, even tho he wanted their Service: I say, I doubt not but he conceiv'd as great an Admiration of you, tho with inward Jealousy to himself, as *Euristheus* did of *Hercules*, when after his greatest Travels and Labours he return'd unwearied, and Victorious; since you prov'd your self in that Expedition so great and worthy a Commander.

When in the beginning of your Youth you went out a Colonel, you travel'd through the remotest Countries with a Manlike Solidity: Fortune so ordering it, that you should be fully vers'd in Affairs e'er you should arrive to the chief Authority: for you were not satisfy'd with only visiting the Army, and living a little among them for your Diversion, but stay'd, and became so expert a Colonel that you were soon fit to be made a General, being not to learn your Duty, when you had others to command. During your ten Years Service you made your self acquainted with the Customs of Foreigners, with the Si-



tuations of Countries, with the Conveniencies of Places, and ennur'd your Constitution to different Diets and Climates, till they became as natural to you as your own. What numbers of Horses, and Sutes of Armour have you worn out? Posterity will be glad hereafter to shew their Children the Fields where you encamp't or fought, the Trees under which you sat to refresh your self, the Mounts whereon your Tents were pitch'd, the Houses where so great a Guest was entertain'd; as you your self were wont to be delighted in marching over the same Ground, and contemplating the Conduct of former Generals. These things are to be hereafter. For the present every one of the older Soldiers values himself for having been your Contemporary; for where indeed can be found any who were not your Companions in Arms, before you were created Emperor? 'Tis from hence that you know them almost all by name, for that you remember the particular great Actions they perform'd; nor need they set forth how many Wounds they have receiv'd in their Country's Service, when you your self were present both to observe, and to encourage them.

But your Moderation is so much the more commendable, that not withstanding



ing you were bred a Soldier, you are yet a Lover of Peace ; and that tho your Father had the Honour of a Triumph, and your own Laurels were offer'd up to *Jupiter* on the day of your Adoption, yet still you declin'd a Triumph. Tho you fear not War, yet you are not forward to engage in't. 'Tis a mighty thing, Great Sir, to view the Enemy from the opposite shore, to be assur'd of Victory if you pass, yet to restrain your self from Fighting. The first your known Valour assur'd, the other your Moderation permitted : for that you declin'd the Combat, 'twas the effect of your Moderation ; and for your Valour, 'tis sufficient that the Enemy durst not. The Capitol will then one day be fill'd, not with empty Chariots, nor the false appearances of Victory, but of a true and solid Conquest worthy of the Emperor, with Ensigns of Peace and of Tranquillity, and the acknowledgments of the Enemy that they were not subdued by Violence. This is more Honourable than any Triumph. Nor do we ever conquer any, but such as contemn the Honour of the Empire. For if the Prince of any barbarous People should be so Mad, or Insolent, as to incur your Indignation, 'tis neither Sea, nor Flood, nor the highest Mountains could protect him : These should all

appear so submissive to your Command, that he would think the Mountains fell, the Rivers dry'd, the Sea gave back ; that not our Fleets, but the very *Roman* Ground invaded him. Methinks at this very time I behold a glorious Triumph, not of the Spoils of our own Provinces, nor Wealth extorted from our Allies, but Hostil Arms, and Kings led through in Chains. Methinks I see the Equipages of the Barbarous Nations pass before me, the Victims of each Country following with their Hands ty'd fast behind them, your self seated aloft in your Triumphant Chariot, the Carriages going before you loaded with Shields and Bucklers, which your own Sword had penetrated. Nor needed you have doubted to possess the Plunder of the Field, how rich soever, where any barbarous Nation durst give Battel. For not the multitude of your Armies, but the very Terror of your Name was of it self sufficient to have frightened them from the Attempt. Such likewise was your Moderation, that when the Dignity of the Empire requir'd you either to invade, or drive back the Enemy, *you seem'd to Triumph, because you Conquer'd, not to have Conquer'd for the sake of Triumph.*



One thing minds me of another : for how Noble a matter is it that you have restor'd the lost Discipline of the Army, and extinguish'd the Mischiefs of the former Age, when the Soldiers through Idleness grew Impudent, and refus'd Obedience? That General's safe who has deserv'd the Love and Reverence of his Soldiers ; whose Authority being thus secur'd, none of the Inferior Officers need value it whether their Men love them or not ; for being indifferent whether the Soldiers be pleas'd with it or no, they attend the Works, exercise their Regiments, take account both of their Men, their Arms, and their Retrenchments. For he is not a General who stands in fear that the Preparations making against the Enemy are design'd to oppose himself ; which was the Apprehension of some of our former Emperors when they went forth to War. The Army therefore wish'd not only that the Discipline, but that their very Bodys should be enervated, and their Swords rusted in their Scabbards ; for that the Generals stood more in fear of their own Princes Treachery, and of Violence to be offer'd by their own Soldiers, than of the Enemies Forces. 'Tis the nature of the Constellations, that the lesser Luminaries are obscur'd upon the appearance of the



greater ; so when the Emperor appears, the Authority of the General ceases. But you, tho you were greater than any, yet you were so without diminution to any : every Man retain'd his own Authority when you were present, as much as in your Absence ; nay, many were the better obey'd, because 'twas found they were by you respected. Wherefore being equally dear to all, you so intermixt the Authority of the Emperor with the Duty of a Fellow-Soldier, that as you exacted every Man's Labour and Endeavour, you were yet still ready as a Friend and Comrade to relieve them. How happy then was the Army, whose Truth and Diligence you were satisfy'd in, not by hearsay, but by your own sight and presence ? Nor could any causlessly detract from, or abuse the absent, for in those Cases you never lent a credulous Ear.

Now when the Desires of the People have recall'd you, and you have demonstrated your Love to your Native Country, by forgoing the Honours of the Camp : Your Journey home hath been easy, and modest, no way like the March of a Soldier. Nor is it the least part of your Commendation that no Parent nor Husband needs stand in Terror at your coming. Chastity, so much by others affected, is

to you so inbred and habituated, that 'tis scarce to be accounted one of your Vertues. No Noise nor Tumults have been in your passage, for pressing of Carriages: No insulting of Landlords, nor exacting of Provision. Besides, by the Courtesy and good Behaviour of your Retinue, it look'd like the Journey of some General (such a one as your self) towards the Army; for there is no difference to be made either before or since you were made Emperor. How unlike was the Progress, or rather Devastation of one of our late Emperors; when he even made War upon the Country, destroying, plundering, and burning wheresoever he came, that one would think the Enemy whom he fled from had done the business. The Provinces make their Observation now, That that was *Domitian's* March, not *Trajan's*. Nor is it so much for your own Honour, as for the Advantage of the Commonwealth, that by an Edict you have ordered the Expences both of his, and your own Return to be made publick: That your Successors may hereafter use to compute the Charges of their Journeys, as though they were to give an account to the Commonwealth how much they spend in going and returning. That they should only take what's lawful for them to take, and



not such things as I'm ashamed to mention; and that future Princes may know, whether they desire it or no, that so much your Progress cost. And that they should take examples by yours, and by *Domitian's*; and know that men will take their opinions of them as they imitate you or him. Tho you have merited new Honours, and Titles for so great Deservings, yet you refus'd the Appellation of [*Pater Patriæ*] the Father of your Country.

How long did we contend with you? And how late was't e'er we obtain'd? That Name which others have assum'd the very first Day of their Inauguration, you out of a mean regard to your own deservings did defer, till you shew'd the World that 'twas your due by Merit; so that it fell to your *share only to be the Thing* before you had the Name, for you were *it* in every man's opinion and judgment; nor did it signify any thing to the Publick by what Name you went, saving that we seem'd ungrateful to call you rather Emperor, and *Cæsar*, when we had so much experienc'd your paternal Care over us; which Property with what Bounty and Indulgence do you exercise it, by living among your Subjects, as a Father does among his Children? And as you went from us only a private Person, but return'd

Em-

Emperor, you thankfully acknowledg it, and are as willingly obey'd. You think no better of your self now than heretofore, your regards for us are full the same, you stand upon the same Level, with This only difference, that *the greater your Quality, so the more eminent are your Deservings.*

For first of all, how joyful a Day was it to every Man when you came to Town? Other Emperors us'd to be brought in, not only in their Triumphant Chariots, drawn with White Horses four abreast, but upon Mens Shoulders, *which was yet more Arrogant.* But you for your part being only taller and of a more Goodly Personage than others, made your Triumph not upon our Patience, but upon the Pride of former Princes. Wherefore neither Age nor Sex, nor Sicknefs, could detain any from running out to behold so unusual, and so glorious a Spectacle. Every Body both Young and Old, Men, Women and Children, rejoic'd to see you, to know your Person, and distinguish it. Nay, the very sick, neglecting their Physicians, thought if they could but have a sight of you they should recover; others were ready to sing their *Nunc dimittis*, since they had seen, and receiv'd the Emperor; others were as willing to live longer. The  
Wo-



Women wish'd to be with Child, were ravish'd when they observ'd how good a Prince, and brave a General they brought forth Children to be govern'd by, either as private Subjects, or as Soldiers. Here you might see the Windows, and the Roofs of Houses loaden with Spectators, no place throughout your Passage empty; the Ways crouded, scarce room sufficient left for you to pass; the People universally testifying their Joy by their Acclamations, and Huzza's.

The joy of your Arrival was equal to the Expectations we had of you, which increas'd the higher the nearer you approach'd us. It rejoic'd every Man to see you receive the Senate with a Kiss, the same Ceremony that pass'd between you at your departure. 'Twas grateful to every Man to see you know all the People of Quality by Name without the help of an Introduc'tor: And that besides the kind Reception they found with you, you shew'd your self familiar, but most of all, that you proceeded with a constant and an even Behaviour to People of all Conditions, who came to pay you their Devoir; that you allow'd such free Access, and the very day of your Arrival admitted every Body; nor were you surrounded by your Guards, but sometimes by the Senate,

nate, otherwhiles by the *Equestrian* Rank, as either of them could get near you ; that the *Lictors* quietly, and silently march'd before you ; for as for the Soldiers, both for the Modesty of their Habit, and Behaviour, they no way differ'd from other People.

But when you mounted to the Capitol, what a joyful Remembrance was there of your Adoption ? And how particularly glad were they to see you there, who in the self-same place had first proclaim'd you ? 'Twas then I thought the Gods were most peculiarly delighted with an Action of their own performance : For when you appear'd in Person in the Place where the Emperor *Nerva* publish'd the grateful News, how was every Body there transported ! What new Acclamations ! How like the Day 'twas done upon ! How Nobly were the Altars every where adorn'd, and fill'd with the richest Sacrifices ? How did not all Men vow, and pray for your Prosperity, when they thought they at the same time prayed for themselves, their Wives and Children, as they prayed for you ? Thence you proceeded to the Palace, but with the same Countenance and Modesty as if you had been going to a private House. Others went and rejoiced at home where there was no necessity of shewing it.



it. Such an entry had been too much for another Prince: But you are every day more desirable than other; *For you appear that Prince in present, which others at their first accession promise to be hereafter.*

The longer you live, the better and more desirable you grow. You have wonderfully reconcil'd two different things, the Security of your Government hereafter, and the Decency of the beginning of your Reign. If your Subjects approach your Person to salute you, you don't expect they should fall prostrate at your Feet; or if they'd kiss your Hand, you kindly yield it to them. Your Humility is still the same, for if you went before on foot, you do so still; you lov'd before to labour, and take pains, you do so still; every thing about you is the same, your Advancement having no way chang'd you. We are now allow'd when our Prince appears, to stop, to meet, to walk by, and to accompany him; you appear amongst us as a Man, not standing like a Statue, or a Pillar; and give access to all, not with design to upbraid any, for so oft as any apply to you they are sooner silenc'd by their own modesty, than your refusal. We are govern'd by you, and subject to you, yet still according to the Laws, which tho they restrain us from Avarice, and from

Licentiousness, yet still we are allowed to read and be acquainted with them. Your Person is as eminent and excellent as your Dignity or Power; which tho they are superior to, and above us, yet are they still but human Attributes. Your Predecessors out of Pride, and of Disdain to their Subjects, and out of fear of an Equality between them, us'd not to walk on foot, but were carried upon the Necks or Shoulders of their Slaves. But your Honour, Fame and Piety, together with the Freedom you allow us, give you the Preheminence by far above those Princes: And for your kind and courteous Carriage to your People, you are extoll'd and prais'd to the very Stars.

I am not afraid, my Lords, of seeming tedious, since the things we are to return Thanks for to the Emperor are many. 'Twill perhaps look more respectfully to pass some few things by in silence, and refer them to you to consider, rather than any way insist upon them: Yet however, those things which least require to be remembered are considerable. For instance, the Presents made to the several Companies of the City, the great Donative to the common People by themselves, tho the Soldiers were to have part. 'Tis an Argument of a generous Soul to give there  
the



the freest, where with most safety it might have been refus'd. Yet in all this great Diversity the greatest Equity was observ'd : For the Soldiers were to have an equal share with the People, and to be first satisfied ; 'twas all perform'd at once, and all Parties went away contented.

Besides, how bounteous was the Dividend ? and how careful were you that no Man should go away without being made sensible of your Liberality ? For those who after Publication made of your intended Bounty, were look'd upon to have no share assign'd them, were yet made equal to the rest, tho they had no regular Claim. If any were absent either through Business, or were detained by Sickness, or by being beyond the Seas, or in distant Quarters, they were notwithstanding severally taken care for : Every Body might come as they would, and as they could. 'Twas most magnificently done, Sir, and like your self, to take care by your Beneficence for the most distant Countries all at once, to interpose your Charity to Mens Necessities, and to help on their Fortunes by your Assistance in the Distribution of your Bounty ; that every one might be made sensible that he was regarded not only as a Subject, but as a Fellow-Creature of the same Species with  
your

your self. 'Twas usual upon the Days of former Donatives, for the People to observe the Time of the Emperor's going abroad, to fill up all the Ways, to bring their Children, to lift them up upon their Heads and Shoulders, and to teach them little prating Compliments, which they repeated as they were taught, like little Parrots: and the greater Number of them worrying the Prince to no purpose, knew not what they ask'd, nor what was granted, till at length they were given to understand that their Suits were all put off. You suffer'd not your self so much as to be ask'd; and tho it was a most pleasing Sight to you to behold so numerous a Concourſe of the *Roman* People, yet e'er they had either ſeen your Perſon, or heard you ſpeak, you commanded all of them to be admitted, and their Names ſet down, that from their very Infancy they might acknowledg you as their common Parent for the Education they receiv'd from you; that they might be bred up at your Expence, who were hereafter to become your Servants, and might individually ow as great Obligations to you as to their natural Parents. 'Twas wiſely acted, Sir, thus at your own Coſt and Charges to breed up the Hopes of the *Roman* Name: For there is no ſort of publick Charge



Charge more worthy of a generous Prince, whose Name deserves to be immortal, than that he hath been liberal to Posterity.

\* *The Papi-  
an and Pop-  
pean Laws.*  
vid. Suet.  
in Vit. Aug.  
& Liv. cap.  
38.

The \* Laws made to encourage Matrimony, and the Penalties inflicted for remaining single, are good Inducements to wealthy People to have Children ; but the greatest Encouragement to the poorer sort is *a Good Prince*, who if he does not bountifully reward, cherish, and encourage the Children born in confidence of his Kindness, he only hastens the Downfal of the Empire and of the Commonwealth : for 'twill be in vain to support the Nobility, if he neglects the People ; they'l look like a Head without a Body, and be soon deprest by their own unequal Weight. 'Tis easy, Sir, to imagine how great Joy possess you when you heard the Acclamations of Parents, Children, old Men, Infants, Boys, at your Arrival. This first Welcome from the little ones fill'd your Ears. From you they expected to be fed, which you had generously done, tho it had ne'er been ask'd. But above all, we are happy under you in this respect, that we are encouraged both to procreate and breed up our Families. No Parent need be terrified upon

upon his Son's account more than for the common Incidents to Human Frailty, *since the Princes Wrath is no longer reckon'd amongst our incurable Diseases.* 'Tis a mighty Incouragement to breed up our Children in hopes of being maintain'd, and of being rewarded ; but 'tis yet a greater to be assured that they are born to Liberty and Safety. Were it so, that tho the Emperor gave us nothing, yet if he took nothing away from us ; if he bred up none of our Children, yet still if he slew none of them, People would however not be discouraged from having of Children. But if, on the contrary, he gave with one Hand, and took away with another ; brought up our Children, and then knock'd them on the Head ; there's no body but in a little time would think themselves, their Parents and Posterity miserable. Wherefore I know nothing so generous in all your Liberalities, than that what you give us is your own. Nor are your Subjects Children fed, as Beasts of Prey do their young ones, with Blood and Slaughter ; and what's most grateful to the People is, that they know that what they receive from you, is not taken away by Violence from others ; and that tho so many be enrich'd, yet no body but the Emperor is the poorer for't, nor he neither: *For be-*  
E *ing*



*ing entirely Master of the Peoples Affection, whatsoever they possess, 'tis all his own.*

But, your many glorious Deservings call me off. What then shall I say? or how shall I sufficiently admire and venerate you? that you have thus freely given away so much Money; not to appease the Subject for any Act of Tyranny or Cruelty, nor to wash off any Stain of that sort, nor to silence the Discontents and Murmurs of disaffected Persons, by affording them Objects of better Hope. You have not expiated any Crime by your Bounty, nor made amends for any sort of Cruelty by thus feeding the Poor. Nor have you done a good Action to secure yourself from the Resentment of any Evil that preceded. 'Tis the Love, not the Pardon of the *Roman* People you have acquir'd by this your Generosity; all People went away oblig'd, and not pleas'd, from your Tribunal: For being secure of your own Safety, you freely gave to those who conceived a mutual Satisfaction. For what former Princes gave heretofore to allay the Hatred of the People, you presented them with it with an unspotted Character, and they as candidly receiv'd it. There are no less, my Lords, than 5000 Children of the best *Roman* Families, whom the Emperor's Generosity

ty

ty has sought out, and taken into his Patronage, who are to be all brought up at the publick Charge, to be a Support to the Commonwealth in time of War, and to be Ornaments to their Country in time of Peace; and who are all instructed to love their Country, not so much because they had their Birth, but their Education from and in it. These are to be the Men who must supply the Army, and be the Chiefs of other Civil Societies and Corporations, from whom an Offspring shall descend who will be enabled to maintain themselves. May the Gods, Great Sir, continue and prolong the Life that they have given you, as you deserve; and the more Children you find out, and enter into your Register (for their Number daily increases, not because the Children are the dearer to their Parents, but because the Emperor desires to breed and bring up worthy Men) the more of this sort of Bounty may you bestow: but all turns to your own account, for 'tis for your Service they are born.

I look upon the great Quantities of Grain laid up, to be equivalent to a perpetual Donative. *Pompey's* Care in this very matter turn'd as much to his Honour, as the Laws he made against Bribery in the Election of Magistrates, his scouring



the Seas of Pirates, or his Triumphs over the *East* or *West*. But as great a Patriot as he was, he came far short of what our present Emperor has done; who by his Authority, Advice, and Credit under him reposed in the publick Faith, hath made the Roads safe, open'd the Havens, and so secur'd the Commerce both by Sea and Land, that the most distant Countries trade together with that Security, that the peculiar Growth of any one Province is become common to all. Is it not apparent that without Injury to any, the Year abounds with every thing for our Accommodation? for the Harvest is not taken by Rapine as from an Enemy, nor kept up in Granaries till 'tis spoil'd, nor brought away from our Allies against their Wills. They themselves bring us what their Land produceth, the Sun ripens, or the several Seasons of the Year afford; nor do they fail the Payment of their former Taxes through new-laid Impositions. The publick Bank buys in the Surplusage of the Market, and sells it out again at reasonable rates. This begets Plenty and Content, nor do we hear of Want or of Famine any where.

*Egypt* was wont to boast, that for producing and raising of Corn they needed not the Heavens nor Rain; for being overflowed

verflowed by the River *Nile*, and accustomed to enrich their Ground by no other Moisture, their Harvest us'd to be so plentiful, that they ever contended with the most fruitful Regions; yet was this very Province by an unusual Drought of late perfectly burnt up to Barrenness. For the River happening not to overflow its Banks, made not the usual Inundation, so that the several Mouths and Channels of it look'd like so many several great Rivers. For this reason a very great Quantity of their Lands, which us'd constantly to be overflow'd, was parch'd and utterly burnt up to Dust. The *Egyptians* then in vain began to observe the Clouds, and wish for Rain, when they saw their Country, formerly esteem'd the Granary of the World, reduced to those Extremities, which they were wont to supply in other Parts. For the River which us'd to cover the Tops of Hills, was not only now kept back, but contained it self within its Channel, not leaving so much Moisture as to prepare the Ground for Tillage. Wherefore the Country thus depriv'd of their Inundation, wherein their Hopes consisted, began to implore the Emperor's Assistance, as they us'd to do their Rivers: Nor did their Complaint last longer than the News of it arriv'd. For, Sir, your



Authority is obey'd with that Dispatch, and your Bounty is so inclinable to supply your Subjects Wants, that 'tis sufficient if you but know of their Necessity. I wish for mine own part grateful Seasons, and Years of Plenty to all Countries; however I can't but think that Providence cast *Egypt* into this Condition to convince the World both of your Ability, and of your Vigilance. For when you deserve to have every thing about you prosperous, is it not apparent that if any thing falls out adverse, 'tis only to afford matter for your Vertues to encounter, and to increase your Glory? *Prosperity tries the Good, but Adversities demonstrate the Great and Noble Soul.* 'Twas boasted heretofore that *Rome* could not subsist but by the Help of *Egypt*. That vain and empty People us'd to brag that they were the Men that fed their Conquerors, and that they had it in their power to supply or starve us. We have made them now a Return for their Supplies, we have furnish'd them with the Harvest they wanted, and they have carried back the Stores they brought us: Let them hereafter know then by this Experience, that from henceforth we expect not Corn, but Tribute at their Hands: And let them know moreover that tho we can support our  
selves

selves without them, yet are they still our Servants. The River *Nile* may keep within its Bounds and Channel, that's nothing to *Rome*; nor need we send thither, unless it be to advise them to send us their empty Shipping to take in their Lading with us, and so return. Let 'em wish themselves the good Winds and Weather homeward bound, which they us'd to wish for as they sail'd outward.

It looks, Sir, like a Miracle, that the Plenty of *Rome* should reproach *Egypt* and the *Nile* for Sloth and Barrenness. 'Twas your Care and Kindness that supplied them, and to shew the World that *Egypt* can sooner want *Italy*, than *Italy* *Egypt*. That fruitful Country had been ruin'd had they been free and not dependent on the Empire. They were surprized by their unwonted Scarcity, and not more tormented by their Hunger than by their Shame, when you with infinite Charity obviated both. The Peasants wondred to see their Granaries fill'd with Corn, which they had neither cut nor carried, what Fields it came from, or whether there were any other River in the Country. 'Tis your Bounty then has taken off the Scandal of their Poverty. And the productive River *Nile*, tho it hath oft overflow'd its Banks to the Advantage



of *Egypt*, yet it never made so large a Return of Honour to the Empire, as under you.

How will not all other Countries wish themselves incorporated within the *Roman* Empire, when they see the Emperor both able and desirous also to supply and bring back Returns of Wealth from all Parts as occasion offers? when they see a far distant Country, divided from us by the Sea, as tenderly relieved and fed, as tho they were a Part of the *Roman* People? The Seasons never are so plenteous as to be capable to furnish every Country all at once; but if your Majesty can't avoid a Scarcity in some Parts, yet you provide against the Effects of it. If you can't raise Plenty upon the Spot, you import it from elsewhere. You unite the *East* and *West* by your Navigation, that all the World may be made sensible *how much better 'tis to be govern'd by the wise Conduct of a Monarch, than under the jarring Difficulties of a confus'd Liberty to be deprived the Benefit of Commerce.* For where Men trade separately and as Interlopers, every Man's Loss turns to his own Damage: But when they unite in Companies and Joint Stocks under a good Governor, there a Loss is felt the easier by Particulars, but common Advantage shall accrue

accrue to all. But whether it be or not that a peculiar Providence presides over every Country and great River, I wish that *Egypt*, of late succoured by the Emperor's Beneficence, may be contented and recover their former Losses. Nor shall we require Interest from them, tho 'tis but just that they should pay it: I wish rather that since 'tis not required, they may be hereafter able to bear the Scarcity of one Year's Harvest which the unusual Season has denied them.

So much for the Good you have done your Subjects and Allies: now for the Spectacles you have exhibited; *Not effeminate and smutty Comedys to enervate and vitiate Mens Minds*, but noble and man-like Exercises, to encourage Men to generous Exploits, and to a Contempt of Death; that even in Slaves and Criminals there appeared an Emulation, and Desire of Victory. And in obliging the People with these Entertainments, what great Liberality and Equity did the Emperor shew by being no way partial to the Combatants, or at least too generously reserv'd to have exprest it? The People obtained what they ask'd, and were offer'd more than they desir'd; nay the Emperor gave them their way, and bid them ask what they would; by which means many things



things were exhibited more than were intended, and others brought out into the Amphitheater as soon as thought on. How freely also were the Spectators left to their Applause or Censure? No Man was blam'd or counted impious as formerly, for not approving the Gladiators brought by the Emperor; no Man made a Spectacle, and drag'd away with a Hook in his Nose to be burnt alive upon that account. That Emperor [*Domitian*] was mad and void of all true Honour, that made it Treason for Men to give their Opinions in the Theater, and that thought himself despis'd and vilify'd if People gave not their Applause to the Swords-men he appointed: Who interpreted their Opinions to the contrary, as a Violation of his Divinity; for, esteeming himself a God, he would have his Fencers thought as sacred as himself.

But how agreeable a Sight did you afford us, Sir, instead of those detestable Exercises? Instead of condemn'd Slaves and Criminals to fight, and kill one another, you produc'd a Regiment of Spies, of Thieves, and of Informers. 'Twas not the Mountains, nor the Roads, but the Temples and Courts of Justice they had pester'd. No Man's last Will and Testament, no Man's Estate was safe; 'twas

no matter whether Men had Children or no. The Covetousness of our former Emperors gave Encouragement to this Mischief; you were pleased to take notice of it, and as before you appeas'd the Mutinies of the Army, so you resolv'd to do the same by the Courts of Justice. 'Twas you that first cut off and fear'd this Gangrene, and by your provident Severity took care that the Safety of the People founded upon the Law, should not hereafter be perplex'd and shaken by the Abuses of the Law. Wherefore tho your Fortunes and Liberality diverted us one while by the fighting of robust and sturdy Combatants, otherwhiles with ravenous wild Beasts, these succeeded by as mild and as familiar Entertainments, tho you oblig'd us by the Distribution of private and ill-gotten Treasure of your Predecessors, yet nothing was more pleasing nor more worthy of your Imperial Dignity, than to expose the brazen Faces and long Ears of those common Evidences and Knights of the Post. We knew their Countenances, and rejoic'd as over Victims offer'd to the publick Vengeance, when we saw the Rascals led forth to their respective Punishments. Some were put on Shipboard upon such tattered Vessels as could first be seiz'd on, and so

com-



committed to the Ocean; that the Country wasted and depopulated by their Villany might be rid of them, that if any of 'em happen'd to escape the Waves and Tempests they might live among the Rocks and desolate Shoars, and waste the miserable remainder of their Lives in Poverty and Perplexity, leaving behind the Country, where they had been common Pests, secure. It was a memorable Spectacle to behold this Fleet of Vermin set adrift, and forc'd to spread their Sails to every Wind, to see them toss'd and shipwrack'd upon every Rock to which the Tempest drove them. It delighted us to see their Navy separated as soon as they weigh'd Anchor, and to return our Thanks to the Emperor upon the Shoar, who without the least diminution of his Clemency had committed it to *Neptune* to revenge the Injuries the Rogues had done us. 'Twas a sufficient Testimony of the Alteration of the Times, to see those guilty Wretches sent to inhabit amongst the Rocks, to which before-time many an Innocent Person had been doom'd: And to see those barbarous Islands, where Senators had been before confin'd and banish'd, now fill'd and peopled with their proper Exiles, that suffer there 10000 Punishments not only to  
the

the Comfort of the Age in being, but as Examples to all Posterity. Instead of taking away others Goods, they lose their own: for their ejecting others from their Houses, they are turn'd out of doors themselves. Nor have they now occasion to laugh at it, as they us'd to do when their impudent and brazen'd Foreheads were mark'd and branded by the Executioner. They may now read their Crimes in their Punishments, when their Fears exceed their Hopes, and they themselves remain in as much Terror, as they were wont before to put others into. The Emperor *Titus* most worthily provided for our Safety and Satisfaction in this behalf, for which Divine Honours were decreed him; but how much more worthy will you be accounted to be enumerated amongst the Gods, who have added so many famous Actions to those of his for which he acquired Divinity? 'Tis even prodigious that when the Emperor *Nerva*, a Prince most worthy of such a Son and Successor as you, who had so much improv'd the Laws and Constitutions left by *Titus*, that he seem'd to have left nothing to be enacted after him; yet have you thought on and contriv'd so much, that one would think there had been nothing done before you. How great



great an Addition of Honour is this very thing to you? Your Glory breaks forth like the Morn, and Sunshine, that imparts its Rays not separately here and there, but that affords its Light in common, and at once illuminates the Universe.

How great a Satisfaction is it to observe the Treasury quiet, and silent as 'twas us'd to be before the Days of Informing? 'Tis now a Sanctuary and a real Temple of Justice, not a Magazine of Rapine, nor a Receptacle of barbarous Extortion; tho heretofore 'twas the only Place in the World perhaps where under a good Prince, ill Men were yet too many, and too powerful for the Good. Now the Honour of the Law is reviv'd, and nothing suffer'd to be perverted from the publick Profit and Advantage. No Man's Penalties are excus'd, but Examples made, only with this Distinction, that Men stand in dread of the Laws, not of the Accuser. Some Men perhaps may think you will not regulate the Exchequer, where your Fines and Forfeitures are levied with that Exactness as the Treasury, but they are mistaken. For you know how as well to govern what relates to your own peculiar Property, as to the publick Income. We may now with Freedom challenge your Attorney or Solicitor

citor General to proceed in Court; tho this very Court was look'd on formerly as the most severe of any of the Benches, the present Emperor's Condescension in allowing Actions to be brought in it against himself, has qualify'd it. Nor are the Judges of it appointed by Parent, but by Lot: we may now except against and challenge the Bench: we may reject and give our Reasons, and speak out plainly; such a Judg he is timorous and understands not the Happiness of the present Government; let us have such who know the Interest and good Intentions of the Emperor better.

*The Prerogative of the Prince, and the Rights of the Subject are now grown consistent in the Courts of Justice.* And what's your greatest Honour, Sir, is this, that Causes are often given against you in the Exchequer, which could never happen but under a gracious Sovereign. This is, Great Sir, of it self; but 'tis yet more for your Honour that you have Persons of such Worth for your Solicitors, and Council learn'd, that the People desire no better Judges: Besides, People are free to object and say, This Man shall be no Judg in my Cause. You impose no Necessity upon your Officers, as knowing it to be a special Grace not to make use of them but  
upon



upon just occasions. Necessity of State oblig'd our former Princes to introduce divers new Taxes and Impositions, which tho of use to the Commonwealth, yet were they burdensom to particular Persons; such was the Exaction of the twentieth Penny by way of \* *Relief*, a Duty easier to the Heir in distant Provinces than amongst the *Italians*; for upon the latter 'twas exacted, the others got it off. For 'twas apparent how uneasily it would be gather'd, and how Men would grudge to be distrain'd, and to have their Goods taken away by force, which by Birthright, Law and Custom ought to have descended to them. These they look'd upon as their own, in present Possession, not in Reversion, and such as they might devise to their Heirs and Successors. True it is, that the antient *Roman* Families claim'd an Exemption from this Law; others who came later to settle themselves in *Rome*, and claim'd the Right of *Roman* Citizens, either by virtue of their coming from some Colony, or by Letters Patents of Denization granted by the Em-

---

\* *This is a Term us'd in our English Common Law, where when the Lord had had the Wardship and Marriage of the Heir, he had yet Relief paid him, which was one full Year's Value of the Lands holden in Chivalry.*

peror, were refus'd it, and were account-  
ed even by their next Neighbours Fo-  
reigners in this respect : So that the great  
Privilege of being a *Roman* Citizen turn'd  
to a Disadvantage, and serv'd only to ex-  
cite Hatred, Discord, and a Neglect of  
Families, when the innocent Children  
suffer'd upon the Parents account, and  
that too for Defects out of their power.  
However there were some so much in love  
with the very Name of a *Roman* Citizen,  
that they thought it sufficient even to make  
amends to them for this Tax of the twen-  
tieth Penny, and for their Loss of what  
should have descended to them by right  
of Affinity : These truly deserv'd their  
Freedom the more, for the Value they put  
upon it. For this reason the Emperor  
*Nerva* enacted, that where a Woman  
died seiz'd of an Estate, it should descend  
to her Children ; and where likewise  
Children died seiz'd of an Estate, having  
only a Mother, it should descend to her,  
freed from this Tax of the twentieth Pen-  
ny, tho the Family when they were first  
registred Freemen of *Rome* were barr'd  
their Right of Affinity. He likewise  
granted the same Immunity between the  
Father and Son, provided the Son was  
within the Father's Tuition. However  
the Emperor accounted it unworthy, inso-  
lent,



lent, and next to impious, to allow this Privilege to any Excise-Man, or Subcollector of the Customs; nor would he suffer the pressing Necessities of the State to be defrauded without some great amends made: yet still he look'd upon no part of the Revenue so considerable, but that he chose rather to part with it, than to destroy the Privity between Parents, and their Children.

Hitherto the Emperor *Nerva* put perhaps a restraint upon himself in the publick Character of a Prince, as being resolved to dilate himself the more in that of a Father. For being to adopt so excellent a Son as You, he added this part of an Affectionate Parent, that being content to have only marked out some things necessary to be reformed, he left the Honour entirely to you to finish them. You therefore presently builded upon his Foundation; and to the end that the Father might be free in his Affections, and the Son in the descent of his Inheritance, you resolved that you would not immediately upon his Death forget he was your Father. 'Twas generously done, Sir, not to lay a Tax upon Parents Tears, to suffer the Sons Estate to go to the Father, and not to permit others to have a share in the Inheritance who bore no part in the Loss nor Grief,

to

tō suffer no Man to be call'd to account for so dear and fresh a misfortune, nor any Father to be compel'd to shew what his Son had left him. I inhance, my Lords, the value of this Concession, when I make appear the reason of its Liberality. For 'tis Ambition, Vanity, Profuseness, and what you will, rather than Bounty, which is not founded in Reason. Wherefore, Sir, 'twas worthy of your Clemency, to lessen the misfortune of Mens losing their Children, and not to suffer them upon it to be affected with other Losses. 'Tis a thing miserable enough of it self, for a Father to be sole Heir to his Son; but much more to have Collectors of the Taxes come and claim their share too of the Estate. Furthermore, when *Nerva* had appointed that the Children in the descent of their Parents Estate should be acquitted of this Twenty Penny Duty, it seem'd reasonable that Parents on the other hand should enjoy the same Privilege in what fell to them from their Children. For what reason is there that greater deference should be paid Posterity than to our Ancestors? or why should not equity be extended equally to Parents as well as to Children? But you, Sir, have done more, for you have arrogated that Exception, provided always that the Son were within the Father's Tuition,



tion, having, as I suppose, a regard to the Law of Nature, *which ever implies Children to be within their Parents Jurisdiction, and not that Men should live like Beasts, where he that is strongest governs and dominates over the rest.* For being not yet satisfied to have excused the first Degree of Kindred from this Imposition, you have exempted the second, by providing that Brothers and Sisters, and so *et converso* Sisters and Brothers, Grandfathers and Grandmothers, with their Grandchildren of both Sexes, that all these in the descent of an Estate should be mutually discharged: So that by this means the Privilege of the *Roman* Citizens extends it self with the same Indulgence throughout all *Italy*, the Rights of Affinity and Consanguinity being preserv'd intire according to the Laws of Nature, a Privilege which other Princes were proud to be petition'd for, not that ever they design'd to grant, but that they might shew their Authority in refusing it. By this the World may see both your Benignity and Clemency in restoring of Estates dispers'd and shattered, by making up the breaches of Inheritances, and commanding them in a manner to commence anew, by thus voluntarily conferring what your Predecessors had refus'd, and granting that in  
gene-

general which hitherto particular People could not obtain, and lastly by depriving your self of the occasion of doing so many Kindnesses, and of the opportunity of receiving so many Thanks. I'm humbly of Opinion that you thought it an unworthy thing, that Men should come to you with Petitions for what the Laws of God and Nature had allow'd. Be the case now then between Brother and Sister, Grandfather and Grandchild; the Emperor hath granted it to be determin'd even as Nature cast it, and of his further Charity believes it to be as unjust to let Inheritances devolve with these Incumbrances to the Heirs, as to disinherit them. Let us depart with Joy and Thankfulness then to our own Countries, since we can there enjoy the Privilege of *Roman* Citizens, none of us being by this burdensom Imposition to be deprived or dock'd, but to enjoy the same dear Pledges which we held before; and that too in a more comfortable manner, for none shall be depriv'd or barr'd hereafter of his Birthright upon account of living abroad, nor be compel'd to pay a Tax for the Estate descended to him; the Emperor as a common Parent having forbidden his Officers to demand any thing: A small Estate now lying at a distance is discharg'd the Duty, and the grate-



ful Heir, if he be so minded, may lay it out upon the Funeral, or to erect a Monument to the Memory of his Ancestor ; no body hath now Authority to take cognizance of, or to forbid it. By whatsoever way a Man comes to an Estate, either Real or Personal, he may securely and quietly possess it. This Tax call'd the Twenty Penny duty was such, that no Man could fall within the penalty of it but by coming to an Estate. The grievance of it now is converted into a satisfaction, and the former Injury into a Wish. 'Tis grown proverbial, that the Heir wishes to pay the Duty. Besides, you have been pleased to add, that those who were in arrear at the last day of payment should not be assess'd : a thing which Heaven it self could not effect ; to forbid that thing to be which had already its existence. However you provided and took care that no Man should remain a Debtor for that Duty which was no more to be impos'd ; you did this lest we should fall under the Government of some vicious Successor, who if he should be inclinable to fleece and pillage us, you have anticipated the Restitution both of the Goods and Lives of so many as he should destroy or plunder. You have forbid that to be exacted which was due before your Accession. Other Empe-

rors,

rors, to shew their Indignation against those who lay behind in their Payments, used to fine them with a double and quadruple Penalty ; *you think you no way injure your self in excusing what never ought to have been levied, or letting it remain a desperate Debt.*

You seem, Sir, still, as tho you were Consul, to be taking care of the People : for when I consider how you have remitted the first Tributes from the Provinces payed by Custom to the Emperor at his Accession, to have made a vast Donative to the People and to the Soldiers, with the banishment of the Accusers and Informers, methinks you should be ask'd whether you have sufficiently computed the Revenue of the Empire? Whether the Prince be rich enough to bear so great expences and acquittals? *For what's the reason that when other Princes your Predecessors took away and kept what they pleased, and yet were never the richer, you tho you have given to every Body, and taken nothing away from any, yet abound in every thing?*

Princes have never wanted those, who with a grave and supercilious Countenance have pretended to advance the Treasure ; and many Emperors were of themselves so covetous and so rapacious, that tho they had none to teach them, they'd



have found out ways enough to impoverish us. But you never yet gave ear to Flatterers, especially not to those who advised you to fleece your Subjects; they are therefore silent now and quiet, and forbear their advisings, since they find no body inclinable to take them: by which means, as we have infinite obligations to you for your Bounty, so have we no less cause to rejoice in the amendment of our own Condition. Neither the *Voconian*, nor the *Julian* Laws enrich'd the Exchequer nor the Treasury to that degree, as the Forfeitures for Treason levied upon innocent People; this you have wholly taken away, *by being contented with that Greatness, whereof none have been so destitute as those who made their Imperial Dignity terrible.* Our Credit now's restor'd with our Allies, Piety to our Children, and our Servants learn to observe us. We are fear'd and reverenc'd, and accounted Masters. The Emperor's Domesticks are not now esteem'd his only Friends, but like Subjects in general; nor does your Majesty repose your Confidence in Courtiers brought out of Foreign Countries, but in your Native People. You have remov'd all Domestick Tell-tales, and taken away at once, so to use the expression, *that servile War*, wherein you have been as kind to

Mas.

Masters as to Servants ; for you have made the first secure, the others dutiful. For all this you are not covetous of Praise ; your Modesty perhaps allows you not to think that you deserve it. Your Conduct is however grateful to us, who remember not long since an Emperor suborning Servants to accuse their Masters, and a fledging Crimes which he thought fit to punish upon a simple Accusation brought: 'twas a terrible and unavoidable mischief, and which affected every body, when a Prince had such Servants about him.

In the same manner are we bound to return our thanks to you, for that our last Wills and Testaments are secured, that one single Person cannot go away with the whole Estate upon pretence of being Heir. You make no claim by false and counterfeit Wills, nor do you endure the Malice, Impiety or ill Nature of others to fly to you for refuge: Nor are you made Executor, because others had disobliged the Testator, but because you deserved it: Your Friends make you their Heir, others are free to refuse it. Nor is there any difference between you in your publick and private Capacity, *but in both you are universally beloved, and make the same returns.* This Conduct, Sir, of yours will be hereafter found by experience to have brought not  
only



only a greater Treasure of Honour, but of Profit to the Prince, whom Men will sooner appoint their Heir for love than for constraint. Your Father *Nerva* gave away much, and you have equal'd him. Too many have forgot it, tho they live upon his Bounty, and you for your part reap no other Advantage but of Honour by it. *A Grateful Person makes Liberality pleasing, but Ingratitude makes it glorious to the Giver, to the Eternal reproach of the Receiver.* But who before you ever valued his Honour above his Profit? Or what Prince ever look'd upon that as ours which he had given himself? For don't the Presents of Kings and Great Men look like baits fastned upon Hooks or Snares to take the Fish with? don't they always draw back a greater profit with them than they bring?

*How advantageous is it for a Man to come to prosperous Estate, having been first tried by Adversity?* You lived amongst us, and had your share both of fears and dangers; you know, and by your own experience found it, how miserable a Life even Innocent People led, and how wicked Princes are detested by those very People who make them such. You remember what you us'd to wish for, and to complain of as well as we. You therefore weigh the Duty of a Prince in the ballance of a private

vate

vate Man's Reason, and carry it better to us than you even wish'd your Predecessors to have done to you. This hath chang'd our Tempers to that pitch, that whereas before we were used to pray for an Emperor a degree only on this side the worst, we can now bear none but the very best. No Man therefore knows either himself or you so little as to desire to be your Successor; the Succession sooner may devolve on any Man than he'll wish for't. For who would desire to undergo that burden of Affairs which you sustain? who would not be afraid to be compar'd to you? You know your self the difficulty of succeeding a good Prince, and therefore strove to set aside your Adoption. Is it a mean or slight matter that no Man pays for his safety by base or sordid compliances? Every Mans Life and Credit are secur'd. No wise or prudent Person cares to withdraw; for under a good Emperor, Vertue will be as sure to be rewarded as it was antiently during the Commonwealth; and Persons who have acted uprightly, have yet further rewards appointed them, besides the inward content of a Good Conscience. You approve the Constancy of your Subjects, and don't depress and keep under their vigorous and lively Spirits, as other Princes have done before you.

*Menz*



*Men find their Account in being Honest, tho'tis very well when they but simply abstain from Vice. These are the Men whom you prefer to Honours, Priesthoods, Governments. These are they that flourish in your Opinion and in your Friendship; they are animated to be upright and industrious, when they find those Vertues are rewarded. They incourage others to imitation, for Men become either good or bad as they find encouragement. There are but few Men so ingenuous, but that they willingly embrace either Vice or Vertue as they see it takes and obtains in the World ; and if they find the Rewards due to Labour, Vigilance and Frugality, given to the Lazy, Stupid, and Luxurious sort of Men, they follow the same Arts they see others thrive by ; and such as they see them, so do they desire to be, and are.*

Our former Princes, your Father *Nerva* and one or two more at the most excepted, delighted more in the Vice than in the Vertue of their Subjects : for every Man loves to see others like himself ; or else because they thought *'twould make them fitter for Slavery, which was the Government that they intended.* Favours were confer'd upon such Objects. Persons of Worth and Honour were laid by, driven  
into

into Corners, buried alive, nor ever suffer'd to appear, unless it were to stand their Trials, and to be made Examples. You make your Friendships with the best; and 'tis truly reasonable that they should become dearest to a good Prince, who were disgrac'd by a bad one. *You know that as there's a diversity between being a Prince and playing the Tyrant; so a gracious Sovereign is most acceptable to them who have been lorded over.* These therefore you promote and make considerable, to let the World know what sort of Men and Manners please you; and for this reason you have not yet appointed a Cenfor or Governor of Manners, as being desirous to make trial of us by Kindness rather than Severity. *Besides, I know not whether a Prince doth not advance a Reformation, more by allowing Men to be good than by compelling them.* We become flexible and compliant wheresoever our Princes lead us; and so, to use the Expression, we fawn upon and follow them. We covet to be in favour with, and to have our Actions approved of by them, which People of a different humour can't expect; and by continuing to be thus Obsequious we are come to that pass, that almost every body lives after one Man's example; nor is the World yet so corrupted, that because we have follow-  
ed



ed ill Princes, we cannot therefore imitate a good one. Proceed then, Sir, and your own Intentions and Actions will have the full effect of a Censor. *For the Prince his Example is a Censorship, and that with a Witness.* This is that we observe and look at, for we stand not so much in need of Authority as of Example. Fear makes but an ill master of Manners. Men are better taught by Examples, which have this Good in them, that they demonstrate the possibility of what they prescribe.

What fear could have effected that which Men have done voluntarily for the Respect they owe your Person? One of our former Princes carried it, tho with great uneasiness to the multitude, that the *Comedians, Harlequins, and Scaramoucio's* should be banish'd *Rome*. Instead of this you have been petition'd by the People for what they mutinied against before, and they took that kindly at your hands that would not heretofore go down with them but by Force. They were as importunate with you to banish this sort of Cattel, as they had been with your Father *Nerva* to restore them: You acted rightly in both, for 'twas fit to restore what an ill Prince had taken away, and then to cashier them afterwards. For in things good of themselves, yet acted by an evil Governour, this

me-

method is to be observed, that the Author not the Action be exploded. The People therefore that used to see the Emperor himself act his part upon the Stage, and clap him, now rail at the Players, and *condemn Effeminate Arts, and Studies scandalous to the Age.* By which 'tis evident that the Emperor's Example influences the very Vulgar, when they all imitate him in a thing against the grain. Go on, Sir, but with the self-same gravity, and that very thing shall be brought into Custom and be Ala-mode, which would in former days have been thought the greatest Violence imaginable. Men have already corrected their ill Manners, whose backs deserv'd to have been corrected; and they themselves are become Reformers, who wanted to be reform'd. Hence it is that no body complains of your Severity, tho every body's allow'd their Freedom to speak out: for tho so it be that Men inveigh least against that Prince, with whose Character they may make the boldest; yet on the other hand, there's nothing in this Age that Men rejoice and delight in more than in your self. Good Men are advanc'd, and for ill ones (which is the most comfortable Circumstance of your Government) they neither fear themselves, nor are they dreaded: and to those, whose  
Lives



Lives you have amended, you have added this acceptation, that you did it not by Compulsion.

What a Reformation have you wrought in the Lives and Manners of the *Roman* Youth, especially the Nobility ! and how desirous are they to adorn their Quality with Endowments answerable ! What Honours have you not confer'd upon the Masters of Eloquence and of moral Philosophy ! that those Studies and their Professors, whom the Brutality of former Governours punished with Exile, have under your protection recover'd new Life, and Vigour. For our former Princes, *conscious of their own Iniquity*, banish'd Arts and Sciences, *the natural Enemies of Virtue*, not so much out of Hatred as for the inward Aw and Reverence they bore them. But you on the other hand embrace, love and encourage them. You are your self whatsoever they pretend to teach, and are as much fam'd and celebrated for being a Master in them, as for the encouragement you give them. Can any Person of the *nicest Breeding* but commend, of all other your Accomplishments, *your Affability and freedom of Access* ? The Emperor *Nerva*, who was a Generous Prince, had it ingraven in great Letters over the Palace Gate, that 'twas *the Hall of publick*

*lick Reception* : But he had set it there to no purpose, had he not adopted a Successor that resolv'd to live in publick. How well does your Character agree with it, and every thing about you, as tho you had set the Inscription there your self? Neither the Courts of Justice, nor the Churches stand more free and open, no nor the Capitol it self, the publick Hall wherein you were adopted and proclaim'd. Here are no Obstacles to be found, no Affronts from Beef-eaters, or Door-keepers, that when a Man hath pass'd through forty Doors he hath still new difficulties to go on. Yet all this while both before, at, and beyond the *Presence*, every thing's so quiet and so decent, that the meanest Family may take Examples of Modesty and of good Order from the Emperor's Household.

Besides, with what Readiness do you give Audience, not suffering People to attend, that notwithstanding the many important Affairs lying upon you, you pass the greatest part of the Day at leisure? We are not now terrified and afraid of losing our Heads if we come too late as formerly ; but when our Affairs require it, we come easy and chearfully to Court : And when your Majesty admits us, you are often pleased kindly to reprove us, that



our own private Affairs, as being of greater consequence, have detain'd and kept us off from attending you. 'Tis your Goodness, Sir, to excuse us without any body else to mediate, tho at the same time you know that 'tis a Duty incumbent upon us all to come and frequent your Court; and for this reason you are pleas'd the more freely and frequently to afford us the satisfaction of seeing your Person. Nor after saluting you at your Levie do we run away, and leave the Room empty; but we remain and stay there, as if the House were all our own: I mean the Palace, which that Monster of Mankind *Domitian* had lately fill'd with Terror, where shutting up himself as in a Hold, sometimes he besmear'd the Walls with the Blood of his own Kindred, other-while he broke loose to destroy and murder the worthiest Citizens. Horror and Destruction waited at the Gates, and Men were equally afraid, whether they were admitted or kept out. We may add to this his fierce and horrid Aspect, his proud and ireful Countenance, his pale Cheeks, sometimes blushing, tho always impudent: No Man durst approach or speak to him, for he ever lov'd to be private and in the dark; nor ever car'd he to leave his Solitude, unless it were to make every  
Place

Place so where he came. Yet notwithstanding his Security within those Walls, where he had contriv'd and hatch'd up so much Mischief, the Divine Vengeance overtook him, and his deserved Punishment pursued him through all his Grotts and Labyrinths, as freely as if the Gates and Doors had been set open. 'Twas not then his Divinityship nor his secret lurking Holes could save him, where he us'd to hide himself, and live conceal'd, to the Abhorrence and Terror of Mankind. How much more safe is the Palace now, as 'tis defended not by *Domitian's Cruelty*, but by the People's Love ; not by Solitude and walling up the Gates, but by the frequent and solemn Concourse of the Citizens? We may hence then learn by Experience, *That a Prince's best Guard is his own Innocence.* This is the inaccessible and impregnable Tower and Fortrefs that needs no other Garison to defend it. 'Tis in vain for Princes to imagine they can secure themselves by Terror, when they lose the Affections of their People by their Cruelty. *War raises War to oppose it self.*

Nor do you pass the solid Parts only of the Day thus in sight and among us, but in your Diversions you allow the same Society and Freedom. You always dine in publick, and are pleased to honour your

G 2

Friends



Friends too with your Company. You speak to and answer every body kindly ; and if in good Husbandry you contract the time of your Meals, you make it out in your Humanity. For you do not sit fullenly, e'er 'tis Dinner-time, before your Meat, observing every Man that sits about you, rather flinging than setting down your Plate, and loathing to eat as being gorg'd, when those you have invited go away a hungry ; nor breaking Rules of Hospitality, do you withdraw into your Closet to indulge your self in Luxury. 'Tis not therefore the Gold nor Silver Plate, nor the exquisite Cookery of your Entertainments, but the Sweetness and Complacency of your Temper that we admire. With this we are never cloy'd, since we're assured 'tis all sincere and true, and all perform'd with a becoming Gravity. Here are no foreign Mimicks nor bawdy Songsters to entertain the Prince at Table, but a friendly Invitation, free and liberal Discourse, and a just DefERENCE to Men of all Professions. After a moderate Repast you sleep a little, and pass no part of your time with less Satisfaction than when your Affairs oblige you to be from us.

But tho we are made Partakers and Sharers of your Majesty's Fortunes, how  
free

free yet notwithstanding are we in the possession of our own? For you don't do like your Predecessors, seize upon Mens Estates, that every Lake, Fish-pond, Park and Chase should be annexed as a mighty Addition to the Crown, for the Emperor to glut himself with the Prospect of such a Patrimony as includes both Sea and Land. Yet still what is there but you may call it yours? Your Patrimony extends it self as far as your Empire. You imploy in the publick Service many of those Estates which the former Emperors occupied, not that they could themselves enjoy them, but to keep others out. The Nobility therefore now return again to their anti-ent Seats, not suffering their Houses to be inhabited only by Servants, or to fall to Ruin and Desolation for want of using. We can see now noble old Houses new repair'd, and looking fresh and flourishing. 'Tis a mighty Commendation to you, not only to have relieved and comforted your Subjects in their Persons, but also in their Houses, that you have stop'd their Ruin, brought back the Inhabitants, and preserved many a noble Seat from falling, with the same generous Disposition that they were rais'd at first. Tho these are mute and inanimate Objects, they seem however to rejoice that they are new garnish-

G 3

ed,



ed, that they shall be frequented and one day inhabited by those who shall know how to enjoy them. There is a mighty Auction proclaim'd in the Emperor's Name of Estates and Moveables to be sold, which most severely exposes *Domitian's* Avarice, who coveted so much when he possess'd too much already. For in his days, if a Man were Owner of a stately House in Town, or had a pleasant Seat in the Country, 'twas enough to make him a Traitor, and to be condemn'd and executed for't. Now the Emperor restores these very Estates to their right Owners, gives them new Livings and Seats; and for the spacious Gardens, Villa's and Houses of Pleasure near the Town belonging to the Emperor, we are allowed to buy, to purchase and possess them. The Prince's Bounty is so great, and the Times under him so safe, that he thinks us worthy to enjoy the same Delights and Recreations as himself: nor need we fear any hidden Disgust or secret Treachery in the matter. You allow the Citizens not only Privilege to buy, but you bestow and give among them every thing for their Delight; nay you give those things you were elected and adopted into. You transfer what's your own by Law, *and look upon nothing as your own, but all your Friends.*

You

You are moreover as sparing in erecting any great new Buildings, as you are careful to maintain and keep up the old ones ; wherefore now neither the Streets, the Houses nor the Temples are shaken to their Foundations by prodigious Carriages of Stone. As you are the frugal Successor of a moderate Prince, you are satisfied, and think you have rather too much : So that you are content to pare off somewhat, and to be without it ; nay even some things which your Father look'd upon as necessary. He took to his own private use what the Fortune of the Empire brought him : But you seem satisfied with what fell to you only as Son and Heir to him. Then, how magnificent are you in the publick Fabricks ? Here a Portico, there a Temple presently is repair'd with that Expedition, that one would think it was rather altered or new furnish'd over than compleated. Here one whole side of the *Circus* outvies in the Curiosity of building the fairest Temple. You have made it a Theater worthy of a conquering Nation : 'Tis not so much the Building as what's exhibited within it that deserves our Admiration ; and chiefly among all the rest, that the Prince's and the People's Seats are built with like Magnificence. Throughout the whole Building there's one con-



nued Face and Symmetry, and the Emperor's Seat contriv'd with that Conveniency to behold the Games and Spectacles, that at the self-same time his Person may be to all as visible. Your Subjects now are suffer'd not to see simply the Bed-chamber, but the Prince himself, and that in publick sitting among the People, for whose Conveniency he hath made an Addition of five thousand Seats in the Amphitheater. They flock'd together the more against the time of your publick Donative, and your Liberality in this last point will undoubtedly augment their Numbers.

Had any of your Predecessors done but one of these great Actions, he had been pictured with a Glory round his Temples, his Statue had been cut in Ivory or cast in Gold, it had been plac'd among the Gods, and choicest Victims had been slain and sacrificed to his Divinity. You enter not the Temples but to perform your own Devotions, and care not that your Statues should be plac'd on any Altar, but in some lower Station as an humble Waiter or Attendant on the Deities. Thus you maintain the sublime Character of the Imperial Dignity, not by assuming to your self Divine Honours, but by paying to the Gods a just and perfect Deference. We therefore

fore find but one or two Statues of yours, and one of them of Brass, within the Porch of *Jupiter's* Temple; whereas not long before the Avenues, Ascents and Courts shone all with Gold and Silver Figures: Or to say more truly, they were even polluted by them, when the Statues of incestuous Emperors were intermix'd among the Sacred Shrines. Therefore those few of yours in Brass remain, and will do so, so long as the Temple shall it self continue. But for those Multitudes of Gold and Silver ones, they have been sacrificed to the publick Vengeance, every Man rejoicing. Men delighted to deface their haughty Countenances, to lay on with Sledges and with Axes, as if at every Stroke there follow'd Blood and Groans. The Peoples Joy was such, they could not govern it, but glutted their Revenge in looking on the broken Legs and Arms, and to see at last the horrid and detested Trunks cast down and melted; that instead of calling to their minds the Fears and Terror of the Persons whom they represented, they might be transform'd to Plates and Dishes and other Utensils for Use or Pleasure. With the same Reverence, Great Sir, you suffer not the People to give thanks to you nor your good Genius, but to *Jupiter*; for that whatever's

ever's



ever's due from us, 'tis all to him: for 'twas the Gift of Heaven to bestow so great a Blessing to the World as You. Whereas it was the Custom formerly for Flocks and Herds of Cattel to be drove along so thick that they could hardly pass by one another, when the detested Image of the Tyrant [ *Domitian* ] was ador'd by the effusion of as much Blood from Beasts as he had took before from Men.

All I have said, my Lords, or yet design to say of former Princes, tends to this, that I may shew how all their Manners were corrupted and depraved, which our present Emperor resolves both to correct and to reform: I should otherwise but tire your Patience, if I did not by Comparison *set forth Vertue and Vice in their proper Colours*. Besides, this is of all others the first and chiefest Duty of well-affected Subjects of the Emperor, to inveigh against the Memories of such as had been wicked. *They do not sufficiently love a good Prince, who do not express their Detestation of a bad one*. Besides, the greatest Honour of our present Emperor is this, that in his days Men may safely make their Reflections upon wicked Princes. Can any Man reflect on it but with Grief, that even *Nero's* Death hath been reveng'd? yet am I of opinion, that that very Emperor

peror [*Domitian*] who slew *Epaphroditus* for it, would have been contented, that *Nero's* Name and Memory should have been defam'd to all Eternity, rather than have had the same things said of himself, tho he as much deserved it. Wherefore, Sir, in all your Actions I compare you, giving you the Preference to many; for we may make bold to vindicate our selves with relation to ill Princes tho they are dead, and by such Examples give their Successors to understand that the Memory of wicked Emperors can in no Age or Country be secur'd from the Execrations of their injur'd Subjects. And that we may, my Lords, consistently set forth the Causes both of our Joy and of our Sorrow, let us lament a little what we suffer'd lately: Under a gracious Prince we have the Liberty to do both. This both our private Thoughts and Speeches, and the occasion of our Meeting here suggest. We may moreover safely commend a vertuous Prince, and reproach his Predecessors where they deserve'd a contrary Character: For where the People hold their peace of a former vitious Prince, 'tis then apparent that the Prince in being is so too.

Besides, what miserable Flattery was in vogue, when the Emperor's Praises were celebrated in Revels and in Feastings by Fiddlers,



Fidlers, Mountebanks, and Merry *Andrews*, with all sorts of effeminate Postures, Gestures and Voices? But what was worst of all, was, that he should be at the self-same time commended in the Senate and upon the Stage by the Players and by the Consuls. *You have banished this sort of Ribaldry, and are become the Subject of serious Poetry, and the eternal Honour of History, not of such shameful short-liv'd Trash as this: The Presence in the Amphitheaters shall with greater Reverence salute you, the less your Name's made use of upon the Stage or in the Play-House.*

But this is no great wonder, since it has been your Custom with the greatest difficulty to accept, or otherwise totally to refuse those very Honours which we the Senators have offer'd you. Nothing was heretofore so mean or trivial but it was debated in the Senate, and the Fathers forc'd to put on an affected Countenance, and with fawning Compliments to the Emperor to give their Suffrage. They were advis'd with for augmenting the Number of the Gladiators, and upon calling a Hall of Blacksmiths and Artificers: And as tho the Confines of the Empire were enlarged, they must one while appoint Triumphal Arches to be built of greater Height than the Temples; other-  
whiles

whiles be consulted with upon changing the Names of the Months to please the Emperor's Fancy; all which our late good Emperor *Domitian* gloried in as being matter of the highest Merit. But who amongst us now, being requir'd in Council to deliver his Opinion, must stand up and make an Harangue in commendation of the Emperor? That 'tis otherwise, Great Sir, the Praise is yours, and we are observant to you because you intervene among us, not to compel us to play a piece of Flattery, but to do Justice, and to perform our Function with the Gravity becoming Senators. *This is owing also to your Candour and Integrity, that what you are pleased to say or do, we may depend upon it.* Now as Business is brought before us, we may debate, conclude, and so dispatch it; which before we could not, because our Time was taken up in Commendations of the Emperor. Other Princes have been so haughty as to reject the Honours decreed them by the Senate, but none till your time have been so modest as to desire them to forbear the Offer. This do I look upon to be more glorious than all the Titles we could give you; for which your Name deserves to be engraven not in Wood or Stone, but in the eternal Monuments of Fame. 'Twill be deliver'd



deliver'd down to after Ages, that tho you were a fortunate and popular Prince, yet that you never did desire but modest and moderate Titles and Honours, and often were content with none. And truly were we to contend with the servile Obsequiousness of former Times, we should be quite outdone. *For Dissimulation, Slavery and Fear, they are more ingenious Contrivers of Flattery, than Truth, Liberty, and Love.* All Acts of that sort then being tried and done with, the freshest Honour we can do to you is sometimes to be allowed to pass over your Name in silence. But if the Veneration we have for you sometimes breaks it, and overcomes your Modesty, how comes it to pass you don't refuse the Honours we appoint you? The reason is, because you would not seem with Pride and with Disdain to reject the greater and higher Titles, since you have vouchsafed to accept the lesser. This, Sir, is greater than if you had refus'd them all; that would have look'd like Ostentation: but in this appear'd your Modesty, that you condescended to accept the lesser. In this you are extremely kind both to us and to the Treasury, in setting bounds to your Expences, that you may not be obliged to defray your Charges by the squeezing of innocent People. Hence

upon the Emperor Trajan.     i i i

Hence it is that your Statues are erected in the self-same manner as others have been dedicated to private Persons heretofore, for their great Merits to the Commonwealth. They are made of the same Metal as those of *Brutus* and *Camillus*: The Occasion's all the same. They waged War with Kings, and beat off the conquering Enemy from our Walls; You preserve us from being enslaved at home, a worse Condition than Captivity: You fill the Throne as a Prince, and do not usurp it like a Tyrant. But when I contemplate your high Wisdom, the matter's no such wonder, that you should either excuse yourself the Acceptance of these frail and empty Titles, or else in Modesty attemper and extenuate them. You know too well wherein the true and lasting Glory of a Prince consists; and what those Honours are which neither Age, nor Fire, nor an ambitious Successor can prevail against. Time will destroy and ruin both *Triumphal Arches, Statues, Altars and Temples* too; *Posterity* also will neglect and censure them. But on the other hand, those Princes who have despis'd Ambition, and managed well the Supreme Power they were entrusted with, restrain'd and govern'd their own Passions, they'll flourish to the utmost Distances of Time, and be commended in after Ages, even by those



*those who lie under no necessity to do it. 'Tis not therefore a lasting Fame; for that will be but an endearing Character that Princes ought to covet; this is to be obtain'd by Vertue and by Merit, sooner than by Trophies and by Statues. These are but trivial things; for Gold and Silver never can express the Shape and Beauty of a Prince, like the Affections and good Opinion of the People. This you are happy in, since every Man retains in mind the Figure of your amiable Face and Countenance, nor are they sparing with their Tongues to celebrate your Praises.*

I presume, my Lords, you have already observ'd that I am not selecting from common Places what I have to say; my Purpose is to commend the Emperor's Person, not his Actions, for many a good thing hath been done by an ill Prince: But I can't pretend to commend our present Emperor, *but under the Denomination of the Best of Men.* Wherefore, Sir, your Honour is in nothing so conspicuous as in this, that we who are to return you Thanks, find no necessity to conceal, or any way to palliate any part of your Character. For what is there in all your Government that any Man should wish to pass it over or to hide it? There is not any part of your Life but you have liv'd it for the publick Good, and therefore none of it but challenges its  
Com-

Commendation: Wherefore no Man can so properly write your Panegyrick as he who faithfully speaks the Truth. I might enlarge *in infinitum*, tho I have but two Years of you to speak of. Tho I have said much of your Moderation, yet there remains Abundance; for instance, that you accepted the Consulship a second time because the Emperor *Nerva* your Father confer'd it on you: But when Heaven advanc'd you to the Empire and to the Disposal of your self, then you refus'd the Office when 'twas the third time offered, tho no Man was so capable to undergo it. 'Tis an Argument of the greatest Modesty to excuse ones self from Honour, nay 'tis glorious. I know not then which most to admire, whether your Behaviour in it the second time, or your refusing it the third. For you undertook it not in Times of Peace and of Tranquillity, as now, but as they were us'd to do who chang'd their Consul's Robe to put on Harneſs, and to pursue their Victories into foreign Countries. 'Twas worthy of the Empire, glorious to your self, and honourable to the Consulship, to have your Friends and your Allies attend you, not within the Walls of *Rome*, but in distant Countries; to see after so many Ages now elapsed, the old Simplicity of our first Magistrates revived, the



Consul's Seat erected in the open Fields upon a Turf, to be surrounded not by the Lictors only with their Rods and Axes, but by the Officers and Soldiers too with their Arms and Colours. 'Twas an Addition to your Greatness to be petition'd by People of divers Habits, Nations, Languages not to be understood but by Interpreters. 'Tis honourable to do Justice upon the Bench at home, much more to be the Arbitrator amongst Enemies abroad, and to decide Controversies by Victory and by the Sword, as well as to pronounce Judgment in the Courts of Justice. 'Tis Heroick to encamp your Army upon the Banks both of the *Rhine* and *Danube*, and to remain in Safety unmolested, to despise the barbarous Threats and Howlings of the Enemy, and to restrain their Fury as well by the Civil Power of the Gown, as by the compulsive Terror of the Sword. Wherefore Strangers that come to see your Camp, are not as heretofore shew'd the Picture or the Statue of the Emperor, but they are admitted to the *Presence*, and salute you by the Stile of Emperor; a Compliment paid your Predecessors by People conquer'd and subdu'd, but to you by those whom you have overlook'd and slighted.

This Commendation's due to you; for what you acted as Consul, much more you have deserv'd, for that in the beginning of your Reign being loaden with other Honours, you excus'd your self, and forbore the Consulship, a Dignity assum'd by other Emperors at their first Accession, even when others had been nominated. Some towards their latter end have forcibly resum'd it, when the Year hath been well nigh finish'd. This very Honour then, which hath been so desirable to Princes both at the beginning and ending of their Government, that they have ravish'd it from those that held it, you when the Place was vacant, have conter'd it upon private Citizens; you thought perhaps 'twould be invidious to obtain a third time the Consulship, which however under the Character of Emperor might have been call'd your first: The second time you enjoy'd it was, 'tis true, after you were Emperor, but whilst your Father *Nerva* was yet alive. So that no great Honour seems to have accrued to you in the matter; nor can it be made a precedent in time coming: all that's to be said of you therein is, that you behav'd your self in it with respect and with observance to the good old Emperor. The City of *Rome*, who had seen the Office held by the self

H 2 same



same Person five or six times over, not when the Liberty of the Commonwealth was sinking, nor during any Faction ; but as it had been confer'd on Persons absent and withdrawn to their Country Seats ; at this time beheld a Prince as 'twere the universal Sovereign of Mankind, yet refusing to be made the third time Consul, as believing it a publick Grievance. Have not you in the Titles of *Augustus Caesar*, and *Pater Patriæ*, shew'd as great modesty as did *Papirius*, or *Lucius Quinctillus Cincinnatus* ? If the Commonwealth invited them, so hath it done you. Have not the Senate, nay the Office done the same, as hoping to augment its Credit and Reputation by your Authority ? I don't compare you to him who made the Consulship almost perpetual, but to those who when they were in the Office, executed it for the publick Good, and not to enrich themselves. There was a Person in the Senate who had been thrice Consul, when you refused it the third time. The Election of the Senate made you some way or other uneasy, perhaps you thought we intended now you were Emperor to confer the Office upon you in that Character as often as that other private Senator had born it. This your great modesty would have refused, altho you had been a private Per-

Person still, Yet why, Sir, should the Son of such a Father who had been Consul and had triumph'd, refuse the Office a third time when he was called to it? 'Twas an Honour due both to your Birth and to your Merit; yet you allow'd that the Solemnities of the Year should be begun and celebrated by private Persons: This was perfectly to let us know we were restor'd to our Antient Liberty, since other Persons besides the Emperor were made Consuls.

Thus the Year used to be begun after the Expulsion of our first Kings; thus when we had antiently driven out both them and their Tyranny, the Year took its Denomination from the Consuls. They were miserable Slaves to their Ambition, who continu'd Consuls as long as Emperors; yet it cannot be called Ambition so much as Envy and Ill-nature for them thus to possess the Office, and not to transfer this high and honourable Dignity till they had worn it thredbare, and grew weary of it. But I'm at a stand whether to admire most your Magnanimity, your Modesty, or your Bounty. 'Twas your Magnanimity to abstain from it when 'twas offer'd, your Modesty to yield it, and your Bounty to suffer it to be enjoy'd by others.

But 'tis now time you should your self



assume it, that you may give it the greater Lustre both by your acceptance of and behaviour in it : *for to refuse it always would look as tho it was indifferent to you, and as tho you thought it beneath you.* You refus'd it honourably, but People won't believe so, unless you are pleased to undertake it sometimes. When you refuse Triumphal Arches, Statues, Trophies, we are bound to excuse your modesty, for these things must and will be erected to you. *But we desire you to teach your Successors by your own example to cast off sloth, to postpone their Pleasures, and for a short space to awaken themselves out of their intoxicated Happiness, to put on the Consuls Robe, tho it be in their power to name a Delegate, to come into Court to perform the Function, and by it to shew themselves such as they ought to be, and not to desire the Consulship only out of Vanity, to boast how often they have born it.*

We know you executed the Office, once when you were with the Army, another time when absent among the Provinces ; but the City of Rome was not so happy as to enjoy your Presence as their Consul. We heard and only heard of the great Fame there was of your Integrity, Humanity, and Patience ; but we desire not always to give heed to Common Fame, we desire to satisfy our Eyes and to convince  
our

our Judgments. How long shall we be deluded by being told how bravely you behave your self abroad? Let us see our selves whether your second Consulship hath puff'd you up or no. *Mens Tempers frequently are alter'd much by that time they have been but half a Year in the Office; how much more when the Dignity of Consul and of Emperor meet together in the self-same Person?* 'Tis common for Persons of great Dignity, if they have any one eminent Vertue in them, to be celebrated as tho they were the very Quintessence of Vertue. But let us now see whether these two things can be consistent, a good Consul and a good Emperor. For besides the difficulty of executing two the highest Offices at once, you have this further Nicety to encounter: How with the Character of a Sovereign to comport with the Consulship an inferior Office, and how to attemper the Consulship that the Office might not look too assuming when born by the Emperor.

I see then that the Reason of your refusing it the last Year, was chiefly because you were absent and out of place to have executed it. But since to the joy of all Mankind you are arrived, what can you undertake more honourable to your self or more desirable to us? We are not satisf-



fied with your coming into Court, unless you hold it ; nor with your intervening in the Senate, unless you preside there ; nor with your hearing the debates, unless you ratify them. Would you restore the heretofore August Tribunal of Consuls to its antient Splendor and Authority ? you must then fill it your self. Would you maintain the Reverence due to the Magistracy, the Authority of the Laws, *and keep perverse and impudent Fellows in good Order* ? put on the Robe your self then. Were you a private Person still, the Commonwealth would want you both to be their Senator and their Consul ; much more therefore now you are Emperor, it will import them to have you Consul too.

These high and weighty Reasons did at last prevail upon your Modesty, tho with reluctance. For in what humble wise did you give way to it ? not to lessen your self by too low and mean a compliance ; but however you allow'd Inferiors to stand in some sort upon an equal level, for you accepted the Consulship the third time, only that you might confer it. You were well acquainted with the Candor and Modesty of the Men whom you knew would not accept the Office a third time, but in Partnership with one who had been three times Consul. 'Tis true, you  
ad-

advanc'd your old Comrades and Fellow Soldiers to it, Men who had deserv'd well from you; but 'twas sparingly, and where they had the long Robe as well as the Sword to recommend them. You were obliged to them for their care and vigilance in either Province. *But 'tis rare to find a Prince sensible of an Obligation; or if he be, 'tis yet not common that he owns it.* Where you are indebted, therefore, Sir, you pay. But where you advance Men a third time to be Consuls, you shew yourself not so much a magnificent Prince as a grateful Friend. Moreover, there's not the least Merit you discern in any Citizen, but you promote it by all manner of encouragement; and you so manage the matter, that whatever favour you bestow, the Party who receives it never fails to make full acknowledgment of his Obligation. What then can I wish to be added to your Liberality, unless it be that you may ever oblige and be obliged, and leave it dubious whether it be more expedient for your Subjects to be indebted to you, or to become your Creditors for the affectionate Duty and Obedience they pay to you? Methinks I can here look back upon that antient Constitution of the Senate, where a Person who had been three times Consul presiding, put the

Quest-



Question to, and took the Suffrage of another who was destin'd the third time to the Office. 'Twas a great and honourable thing to both, and the same thing hath now hapned to your self. But this I must observe, that as High and Great Bodies standing near to those who are higher and greater, look the less; so the highest Honours that can be confer'd upon private Men, when they are associated with you they look but meanly; and the nearer they approach the Imperial Dignity, they appear less than in their own natural and proper Station. You however, tho you could not make them equal to your self, have set them up so high that they seem as much exalted above other Men as they are to you inferior. Had you devolv'd the Consulship to a Person who had held it thrice already the same Year you were elected to it your self, it had been an Argument of a great Soul. *And as 'tis undoubtedly no small pitch of Happiness to be in a Capacity of acting what one will, so 'tis as great an Argument of Magnanimity to effect and do what one can and may.* He was a Gallant Person who could pretend to deserve the Consulship a third time in any Age, much more in such a Reign as yours: 'Twas a great and memorable thing to be so rewarded, especially considering who  
was

was the Prince that gave it. What ! could nothing satisfy you less than to honour two several Persons as your Collegues and Partners in the Office ? 'Twas surely the only cause of your continuing in it, that you might oblige them both by associating your self to either. They had both not long before been Consuls under your Father *Nerva*, which in effect was under you, 'twas but a little while that they had laid down the *Fasces* ; the Noise of the Common Criers and of the Lictors scarce was out of their Ears, when they were call'd back again, to resume the Purple, and to take their Seats upon the Bench. As heretofore when Enemies approach'd, and the State was brought in danger, then we wanted Men of experience to conduct us. *'Twas not Places for Men, but Men for Places that were requisite.* Your Bounty is so great, that you have done that merely for Affection that was never wont to be done but upon the greatest exigencies of the State. They had just laid down the Robe, and presently resume it; they had dismiss'd the Lictors, and immediately recal'd them; their Friends had just made their Compliments at parting, and came back again to congratulate. These Powers belong rather to Gods than Men; thus to renew and to compleat Mens joys, never to let  
them



them be at rest from Friends Congratulating, nor to suffer any Intervals between their Consulships, but as it ends to begin again. May you ever be in a Capacity so to do, nor may your Fortunes nor your Mind be ever tired out here : may you live to advance many to be three times Consuls ; and when you have so done, may many yet remain who shall deserve it.

*Whatsoever Favors are confer'd upon Men of Worth, Persons of the same Character are as much pleas'd with it as they ; so that when these two Gentlemen were declar'd consecutively Consuls, 'twas not any one Party, but the whole Senate conceiv'd as great a Satisfaction in it, as if every individual Member had confer'd, or otherwise had undertook the Office. For these are, my Lords, the Men whom the Senate chose of all others for their good Husbandry, and to lessen the vast Expences of the Publick. This it was, and this only, that endear'd them to the Emperor. Have not we by frequent experience found that where a Man hath been in favour with the Senate, it hath turned as often to his disadvantage as to his profit with the Prince ? 'Tis not long since that nothing was more fatal than the Emperor's jealousy of this sort. Ho ! This Man's a Favorite, he's become popular in the Senate. The Em-*  
*peror*

*peror hated those that we respected, as we did such as he had a fancy for. Now the Contest between the Prince and Senate is, which shall advance the worthiest Objects. Now we agree in our Opinions, in our Elections; and what's the greatest Instance of a mutual Affection, we love the self-same Persons. Wherefore, my Lords, you may shew your Favours freely, and your Inclinations without constraint. You have no need to dissemble where you love, for fear of hurting your Friends, nor seem to hate them that you may do them good. The Emperor and the Senate are agreed in what's to be allow'd or disapproved. He hath promoted those Persons a third time to the Consulship whom you your selves would have chosen, and done it in the same order as when you your selves were wont to elect. 'Tis happy on both sides, that either his Majesty loves those best whom he looks upon as dearest to you, or that otherwise he acts contrary to his own Inclinations to oblige you. Preferments and Rewards lie in prospect to the elder sort, and to the younger good Examples. The great Mens Houses are free and open to them, nor can any Person make his Court to the Emperor so well as by making an Interest with the Senate: for whosoever is advanc'd, he looks upon it that the Honour redounds to him, and values*



*values not himself that he is above every Body, unless he hath Men of the highest Rank and Merit to be superior to. Pursue this Maxim, Sir, and believe and account of us according to the publick Fame you have heard. We desire you only to see and give heed to this, and not to hearken to the clandestine Characters and private Whisperings of Malicious Men, who are to none so dangerous as to those that trust them. 'Tis much better to believe common Fame than private Men, for the latter may both deceive and be deceived; one single Man can't pretend to put the sham upon every Body, nor can the universal Opinion of Mankind deceive any.*

I return now to your own Consulship, tho there be many things belonging to it that fell out before. First of all, that you appear'd in Court not simply as a Candidate for this Office, *but as a Person who resolv'd to be Immortal, Glorious, and to give Example for Good Princes to imitate hereafter, and for bad ones to revere, and stand amaz'd at.* The Roman People rejoic'd to see you seated upon that Tribunal, which antiently they had a Right to elect to. You submitted to the previous Forms, and long tho not ridiculous delays of the Senate, and were at length made Consul, like one of those whom you took in to be your Associates. Which of our Emperors before you  
ever

ever shew'd so much respect either to the Senate, or to the People? Was it not their Custom to be doz'd and stupified with the fumes of the foregoing Nights Debauchery, and in that pickle to expect a Message intimating their Election from the Senate? Others there were perhaps more vigilant, who sat up late, but to contrive within their Closets either to banish or to murder those very Magistrates by whom they were themselves made Consuls. Oh! Base Ambition unworthy of the Name of Majesty, to covet the place and yet despise it, and to disdain what they had before been fond of. And when from the adjoining Gardens they had the House in prospect, yet to absent themselves from the Assembly, as tho the *Rhine* or *Danube* lay between them! Could you do things so much beneath your Honour, and so unlike your self, as imperiously and insolently to command the Consuls to let the People know, that not so much as the least resemblance of their antient Liberty remain'd? Could you refrain from coming to the Senate, conceal and hide your self, not as tho you had been lately made Consul, but as if you had abdicated the Empire? No! this was the opinion of our former Tyrants, who thought that they gave over being Princes, if they ever after it did any things



thing as Senators. Yet many of them acted thus, not so much out of Pride as out of Fear; perhaps being conscious to themselves of their Adulteries and Incests, they had not Courage left them to presume to enter, and with unhallow'd Feet to pollute the Sacred Floor. *They had not so far cast off the fear of Men and Gods, as to be able to support the being look'd on by so great a Presence.* But on the contrary, your Moderation, and the Sanctity of your Life and Manners embolden you to appear, and shew your self in the Assemblies both of Gods and Men. *Others have deserv'd the Consulship before they attain'd it, you both before and since.*

The Solemnities of the Election had soon been over, and the Assembly all dismiss'd, had you insisted only upon your Character as Emperor, when you to the Admiration of all Men approach'd the Consuls Seat, and took the Oaths in Terms unusual to the Ears of Princes, unless when others swore to them. You see now, Sir, how necessary 'twas you should accept it. The World would never have believed you had been so just to the Commonwealth, had you refused it. I am amaz'd, my Lords, nor can I believe either my Eyes or Ears, but methinks I am apt to ask my self again and again how this can be? To have an Emperor, *Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex*

*refex Maximus*, stand before the Consuls Seat, the Consul sitting undisturb'd and easy in his Authority as heretofore? and as he sat he tender'd him the Oaths. *The Emperor took them, repeated and explain'd the Words, and devoted both himself, his House and Family to the Indignation of the Gods, if wittingly or willingly he ever broke them.* This, Sir, was great in it self, your Honour greater. Whether succeeding Princes shall think fit to follow your example or not, what Language can come up to the Dignity of this Occasion; that he who introduc'd you as Consul the first time, now performs the Ceremony a third, and hath the Honour to enstall you so, now you are our Sovereign, as well as when you were a private Person; when you are Emperor as well as when you were a Subject? 'Tis hard to say which is the most Honourable Circumstance to you, to have taken voluntarily the Oaths when no superior Prince could have compel'd you; or otherwise that you condescended to be sworn in concert with your fellow Consul? In the Courts of Justice likewise upon the Bench, you pay the same Religious Observance to the Laws, which none of our preceding Emperors would submit to. But you dispense with nothing in your self, that we are bound to; for which reason we are obliged to

I

with



with it daily, that your Authority may be augmented. 'Tis the first time I ever learn'd or heard the Maxim settled, *That the Prince is not above the Law, but the Law above the Prince; that neither Emperor nor Consuls can do any thing but what others lawfully may.* The Emperor swears in the presence of God Almighty to observe the Laws; *and where can we imagine the Divine Presence more immediately to be, than at such Solemnities?* He takes his Oath to those who are also bound to the self-same thing, and by the same obligation; *being well advised that no Man can observe his Oath so well as he who knows it to be his Interest as well as his Duty to keep it.* Wherefore, as you went out of the Consuls Office, you were sworn again that you had done nothing contrary to the Laws. 'Twas a great thing for you to promise, but a greater that you were as good as your Word. How Honourable therefore is it to you to come so often into Court to take your Seat below upon the Bench, leaving the Throne above you empty, here to accept and here to lay down the Consulship? How unlike the Customs of your Predecessors, who for a few days were wont to have the Name, and then divest themselves of the Thing by a publick Edict? This was all the performance they made of their Oaths, their  
Speeches,

Speeches, and their Declarations. The Conclusion generally agreed with the Premises, for we had no other occasion to remember their being Consuls but that they hinder'd others from the Office.

I have not yet, my Lords, done with the Emperor's behaviour in the Consulship. I have only upon this head spoken what I had to say concerning his taking the Consuls Oath; nor is it my present purpose, as tho the Subject were jejune and barren, to draw and spin out his Commendation by an unnecessary repetition of the same things over and over. When the day he entred upon the Office came, he came into Court, and bespoke us all in general and in particular, to resume our Liberty, to undertake the common Cares of the Empire, to be vigilant and look after the publick Weal. His Predecessors for form sake us'd to make us the same Speech, but we knew it was never their intention. They had the destruction of many Men in their Heads, whom by a treacherous Advancement they drew into the Snare, when they least thought on't. What part of the Ocean ever yet was so inconstant as the Favour of those Princes, who were possess'd with so much Fraud and Levity, that Men were better be in their Displeasure than be thought their Minions? But  
I 2 where-



wherever you command us, we follow  
 chearfully and with safety. If you say  
 we are free, we are so. If you command  
 us to deliver our Opinions, we can freely  
 do it; we are not so far overborn with Sloth  
 nor Cowardise, (tho Fear and Terror and  
 the miserable experience of past Dangers  
 were a sufficient warning to us) as to di-  
 vert our Thoughts and Inclinations from  
 the Commonwealth, a thing that lately  
 had even lost its Name: But now! repo-  
 sing confidence in you, and trusting firmly  
 to your Promises, we dare presume to o-  
 pen our Mouths again, too long kept fast by  
 Slavery, and to let loose our Tongues which  
 had been bridled by so many Calamities.  
 Your mind is, we should be what you say;  
 nor is there any sort of gloss or fallacy in  
 your Expressions, nor any thing that can  
 deceive, unless where Men deceive them-  
 selves as they mistake you. *For no Prince*  
*is ever put upon, but where he is himself un-*  
*true.* I am perfectly assured *that whatso-*  
*ever the Emperor says, he speaks it from his*  
*Heart.* For what a Gravity is there in his  
 Speech, what Truth and Freedom in his  
 Words, what Asseveration in his Voice,  
 what Affirmation in his Countenance? In  
 all his Actions, Gestures, Looks, how great  
 Sincerity? He will be ever therefore true  
 to his Word. And he will be assured, so  
 long

long as he maintains our Liberty, we shall obey him. Nor need we fear he should look upon us as unwary, when we depend upon the Certainty of the Government, tho he remembers when 'twas otherwise.

Let us then make our solemn Vows for the long Continuance of the Empire, for the Safety of the People, for the Health and Happiness of our Emperors, and for their sakes that the Empire may last for ever; as was our antient Custom at the beginning of the Year. 'Tis worthy observation what sense these Vows are made in for the Empire: They are Vows and Prayers at all times worthy to be made. For, Sir, the *Roman* State implores the Gods for your long Life and Safety, *that you may preserve the People committed to your charge in Wealth and Happiness.* If you do otherwise, *the Gods will then forsake you; nor will they hear those Prayers we make in your behalf, as being unsincere.* Other Princes wish'd to outlive the Liberties of the Commonwealth, and by confounding and destroying it they had their Wish. Your Life it self is uneasy to you, *unless the Safety of the Publick be added to it.* You don't desire us to wish or pray for your Prosperity, *unless our own be at the self-same time comprised.* And as the Year begins, you always desire the Gods to leave  
I 3 you,



you, *if you become other than the Prince you were at your Election.* But, Sir, you may with utmost Confidence appeal to Heaven that it may preserve you *but as you deserve*, since you are sure that none know better than the Gods how greatly you have merited. Does not, my Lords, the Emperor seem to be taken up both night and day with such Thoughts as these? I do profess my self, that if it might redound to the publick Benefit I'd yield my Neck to be cut off: nor, were I peccant here, would I desire the Gods to stop or slacken their Indignation. Nay I desire and pray that the Commonwealth may never make any publick Vows or Prayers for me; or if they do, my only hope is, that I may deserve them. You reap, Sir, then this glorious Fruit of your Preservation, and of the Favour of Heaven towards you, That as you desire Protection from it but upon Conditions, if you govern well the State and to the publick Profit, *you may be sure you do it well since you are thus preserved.* You pass the Day therefore with Ease and Safety, whereas other Princes were distracted with their Cares and Fears; they remain'd suspicious and astonish'd, fearing our Patience would not hold. And as they look'd for their Expresses from the enslaved Provinces, if they were stop'd by  
Floods

Floods or Snow, or any contrary Wind, they immediately thought that some Rebellion had broke out which their ill Government deserv'd. Then was no Man safe from the Emperor's Jealousy: *For as under an ill Prince every body who is a worthier Man than he (as 'tis easy for any to be better than the worst) is look'd upon and dreaded as a Rival; so of consequence every Man of Worth must be in Terror.* But your Safety depends not upon the Return of Messengers, nor the Delays of Post-boys. You know that the whole Empire hath taken Oaths of Allegiance to you, *as you have mutually taken your Coronation Oath to them.* This we have all taken to our own Advantage. We love you, and you deserve it, and this for our own sakes as well as yours; nor does there pass a day, Sir, but the Affections of your People, gain'd by the Advantages they enjoy under you, make Vows and Prayers to Heaven for you. *That Prince is in a mean Condition who is always liable to Censure.* It may be ask'd why those Princes only are inquisitive who are hated? Why if the Conduct of good and bad Emperors were not greatly different in this matter, how could you expect to find your self so much admir'd, ador'd, and prais'd by every body? How could you imagine that your Sub-



jects with their Wives and Children, Servants and Neighbours Fire-sides, could give you such good Words? *If you were like some of your Predecessors, your Ears would soon be sensible of the Alteration.* Besides, tho Love and Hatred are two contrary Qualities, yet in this they are alike, *that as we passionately love a good Prince, so we as extravagantly hate a bad one.*

You had sufficient Experience of our Affections and good Opinion that day, when you so qualified the Cares and Thoughtfulness of every Candidate, that no Man's Success should disturb another's Quiet. Some went off with Joy, others with Hopes: many were congratulated, none condol'd with. And for this reason you encouraged the Youth to aspire to the highest Offices of the State, to ingratiate themselves with the Senate, and bid them expect Advancement from you as they were approved by them: In which respect if they wanted an Example, you bid them follow yours. *And yours, Sir, is a great one, fit to be imitated as well by Princes as by Candidates for the Consulship.* What Competitor ever carried himself with greater respect to the Senate than you have done in all parts of your Life? but then most remarkably, when you sat with them to judg of the Sufficiency of

each Candidate. Was any thing obtain'd from you, but the Senate consented to it? Some few Persons of Illustrious Houses were advanc'd to Offices before they had attain'd to the precise Age which the Law requir'd. The Nobility therefore are not obscur'd, but encourag'd by the Emperor. Nor does your Majesty terrify or threaten the Descendants of such as formerly deserv'd greatly of the State; but by putting 'em soon in Office, you add to and augment the Honour of their Houses. Where you find any of the antient Nobility famous for their former Merit, you embrace, cherish and promote them for their Country's Service. The Names of our antient Great Nobility are rever'd and famous. These the Emperor rescues from Oblivion by preserving them, and adding to their Number such as in this Age deserve to be ennobled.

One of the Candidates, who that day appear'd, had been Questor in a remote Province, and in the Capital City of it had settled, to his great Commendation, a very considerable Fund for their common Stock. This you thought worthy to be recommended to the Senate, tho the Author was not of Noble Parentage. For why, Sir, in your Reign, who have exceeded the Nobility of your Birth by your  
own



own proper Vertue, should their Case be worse, who have deserved to make their Posterity noble, than those who received it from their Ancestors? This was a worthy Action, fit to be known by all the Magistracy throughout the Empire, that Men are encouraged to approve themselves Men of Worth by the Rewards they find given to such, rather than by Punishments inflicted on the Bad.

The Nobility were animated, and set themselves to emulate what they found applauded: Nor was there any Man but wish'd he could do as much, *since it appear'd the Emperor had Intelligence of whatsoever pass'd in the Provinces.* 'Tis useful, Sir, and necessary that the Lieutenants of Provinces should have this Confidence. It will encourage their Industry and their Integrity. The Opinion and Approbation of the Emperor is a great thing. Hitherto, tho Men were never so right and so sincere, this true but miserable Thought either chang'd their Minds, or made them negligent. For example; *Let me do ne'er so well, the Emperor either will not know it, or if he does, he'll take no notice.* So that by the Negligence or Perverseness of our former Emperors, who neither punish'd the Bad, nor rewarded the Good, the one were not deter'd from their Crimes

*Crimes, nor the other encourag'd.* But now whosoever governs well his Province, is sure he shall attain to what his Vertue hath merited. The way now is set out and open both to Honour and to Fame, with this Advantage, that Men gain what they desire ; and having gain'd it, they have Obligation *to none but to themselves.* You have also freed the Provinces in time coming from their Fears, and from the Necessity of sending up their Complaints to Court. For when the Magistracy shall be sensible that the Addresses and Thanks of the Provinces to the Emperor for sending good Governors *is the way to be advanc'd,* there will be an end of all Complaints ; and Men will find nothing so conducive to their future Preferment, as their good Behaviour in those they have already : *One Office and Dignity will beget another.* I'd have it so, that whosoever is made Governor of a Province, should at his return bring with him not the Certificate of his Friends, nor clandestine Testimonials obtain'd in Taverns, but the publick Edicts and Decrees of Colonies and Cities. 'Tis not fit that Cities, People, and Countries should be thus compriz'd in the Attestation of a few Men, because they are in Office : *The most effectual Course to obtain a further Character, ought to be the publick Addresses of those he govern'd last.* Be-



Besides, with what Satisfaction and Applause did the Senate take it, that as the Persons chosen were call'd to you by Name, you saluted them with a Kiss? That you came down to them in the Hall, and made your Compliment to them like their other Friends. I know not whether most to admire you, or to blame the Pride of your Predecessors who diffus'd so generous a Custom; when sitting on the Throne as tho they had been nail'd there, they were us'd upon such occasions with an imperious Air to give a Nod, or slowly move their Hands: But you shew'd us an unusual Sight, *the Emperor and the Candidates upon even ground, them who received, and him who confer'd the Honour standing together*; which Act of yours, how greatly taking was it to the Senate? The greater the thing was in it self, the more August and Honourable the manner. For where nothing could be added to you, *what could ex-  
dear you more than your Humility, save the  
Reverence of your Character? Humility is  
the last thing a Prince shall suffer by.* 'Twas not so much your Courtesy, as the Intention of it we admir'd. For when both by your Countenance, your Voice and Gesture, you express your Satisfaction to them, you could have appointed no Man to have made the Compliment in your  
Name,

Name who could have done it so well. Again, when the Competitors were nam'd in Council with the usual Ceremony, there were you giving your Approbation among the rest; that the Royal Assent which we were wont to wish might be signified in the behalf of Men of Worth, you there gave in Person. *You set them forth as the Best of Men when you declar'd them chosen.* Their Character received a double Honour, as being approved both by your Majesty and by the Senate, who thought themselves as highly honour'd as did the Persons whom you commended.

For as you wish'd at the beginning of the Session, that all things might succeed to the advantage both of the Senate and the Commonwealth, might not we at the same time a little have inverted the Order of your Wishes, and have besought the Gods, that all that you have done or shall do may succeed as prosperously to you, to us, and to the whole Republick: Or to make it shorter, *to your self only, wherein the Commonwealth and we are a part?* There was a time, and that but lately, wherein the Interests of the Prince and People were distinct; now, be it good or bad, *'tis all the same.* Nor can we be happy unless your Majesty be so too; no more than you can be, unless we are: or if you could,  
*'twould*



*'twould be the Subject of your Prayers, that the Gods should favour you no longer than as you continued to deserve our good Opinion. Your Affection to the Roman People so possesses you, that your first Desire is to be lov'd by us, next by the Gods, nor by them neither but as you deserve from us. And certainly the Death and Exit of former Emperors assure us, That they were never loved by the Gods, whom Men abhor'd.*

*'Twas a hard matter to balance these good Wishes of yours with Commendations suitable, yet we hope we have done it. What Zeal, what Earnestness did we express? With how much Spirit did we sound forth our Acclamations? These proceeded not so much from our Affections, as from your high Merits and Deservings. They were not the Effects of Flattery, nor yet extorted from us by Fear. Whom did we ever stand so much in dread of, as thus to counterfeit? Or whom did we ever love so much as to be thus capable to shew it? You too well remember the compulsive Exigencies of Slavery. But did you ever hear, or your self endeavour to perform like this? Fear can invent much, but the Insincerity of it will be soon seen through. Mens Behaviour in Suspence and in Security is different. Men in Joy and Men in Grief have different ways to express them-*

*themselves ; they can neither of them dissemble : They both use Words peculiar to their Condition, and tho they may chance to speak the same Words, yet they repeat them in different Accents.*

You your self are Witness what Joy there is in every Man's Countenance. Here's nothing feign'd, disguis'd, nor forc'd by any. The very Roofs and Houses do resound ; the Noise and Clamour pierces through the Walls and Vaults. Who is there that is not ready to die for Joy ? Much we did of our selves, and somewhat by an inward Impulse : *For in Joy it self there is a compulsive Power.* Nor was your Modesty capable to have restrain'd it : for the more you did forbid us, the greater our Expressions were. We did not do it, Sir, to thwart you ; for tho it be in your power to give us the occasion of rejoicing, *yet the Measure of it is not in ours.* You experienc'd the Sincerity of our Acclamations, by shedding Tears your self. We saw your bloated Eyes, your serious Countenance, and as much Modesty in your blushing Cheeks, as in your gracious Temper and Disposition. This made us with the more, that you might never have other Cause to weep. Methinks we were even ready to ask the Seats and Benches of the House, whether they had ever known the  
Em-



Emperor to weep before ; *'tis certain they had known the Senators.* You have laid a mighty Obligation both upon the Princes who shall succeed you, and upon our Posterity ; for they undoubtedly will look for't at their Princes hands that they should deserve like you ; and your Successors will be as uneasy if they have not the same Returns from them. I can add no more than what the whole Senate pronounc'd at once when they made this Acclamation ; *O Happy Trajan ! 'twas not your Wealth, but your Mind and upright Inclination which they meant by that Expression.* For in truth 'tis the highest pitch of Happiness, *where Men deserve to be happy.* And tho upon that day there were many grave and wise things said, yet was there nothing greater than this, *Have Confidence in us as in your self.* This was uttered out of the great Assurance we had of our own Affections to you, and out of the Opinion we had of yours to us. One Man may deceive another, *but few are apt to deceive themselves.* Let them examine their own Lives, *and then ask themselves, what they think they deserve ?* Besides, our Expressions of Joy were as easily believed by a good Prince, as they would have been suspected by a bad one : For tho our Acclamations had been the same to both, yet the

the latter would have been conscious to themselves, that they did not deserve our Love. For this reason 'twas our wish, *that the Gods would so love you, as you lov'd us.* And who could have spoke thus who had lov'd the Emperor but little, or who had thought himself as little lov'd by the Emperor? For our own parts, this was the Sum of all our Wishes; *That the Gods would only so love us as we lov'd you.* Is it not true that when we made you these Acclamations, we proclaimed *our own Happiness*? What happier case can we be in, since we have it not to wish that our Prince should love us; *but that the Gods should be as kind to us as he?* The City of Rome, which hath been ever addicted to Piety, and hath always deserv'd Indulgence from the Gods, can't at this time desire a further addition to their Happiness, *than that the Gods would imitate the Emperor.*

But I need not touch upon every thing, nor pretend to comprise within my Speech or Memory those things which you, my Lords, to the end Posterity may know them, are used to have recorded, or to appoint to be ingrav'd in Brass. Heretofore the Emperors Speeches only us'd to be thus recorded. But the Acclamations of the Senate went no further than their Walls. Some there were which neither the Senate



nor the Prince could glory in. But 'tis both for the Dignity and Profit of the Commonwealth, that these to our present Emperor should both be publish'd now, and transmitted hereafter to all Posterity. First, that the whole World may know and testify our Piety. Next, that it may be manifest that the Senate dares pronounce their Opinion both of good and of wicked Princes, as well whilst they are yet alive as when they are dead. And lastly, that it may be evident that we were a miserable, yet a grateful People, even to those who would not allow us to express our Gratitude. But with what contention, what endeavour, what clamours were we forc'd to expostulate, that you would not suppress our good Affections nor your own Deservings, but allow them to be transmitted to Posterity? That Princes might hereafter learn, how to distinguish between true and feign'd Applauses, and be instructed in your Science, *Not to be impos'd upon*. Tho the way to Fame and Glory be mark'd out and visible, yet let us remind them of it. Tho it be impossible that Flattery should be extirpated, let it not however be restored. These are certainly things which they ought to practise, and they will deserve to hear the Commendations of them where they follow them. What have I

I now to add to that which in conjunction with the Senate I have wish'd for, but that the Joy you have express'd may long continue; that this Day may be ever grateful to your Memory; that you may deserve new Honours, and receive them? These Expressions of ours can never be repeated but for such Actions as occasion'd them.

How agreeable to antient Custom, and to the Consular Dignity is it, that the Senate should sit three whole days only to examine into your great Deservings; that you your self should in the mean time act no otherwise than as belong'd to the Consuls Office? Every Member put what Questions he thought fit; all were free either to dissent, to discant, or give their Opinions in their places for the Common Good. Our Opinions were all ask'd, and our Votes taken, and whatever Proposition was offer'd, *the best Opinion carried it*. Who heretofore dar'd either to have spoke or mov'd, but those unfortunate Men, whose Opinions were first sifted? The rest sat amaz'd and terrified, and with the utmost pain both of Mind and Body, scarce retir'd *the silent and sullen Faculty of assenting*: one single Person made the motion, the rest concur'd, tho against their Wills, as well perhaps as the Man that mov'd it. Nothing could be more displeasing to the whole Senate,

K 2

*than*



*than those things they seem'd most to acquiesce in.* Perhaps the Emperor might sometimes intervene, and for the Reverence due to the Place compose himself; yet no sooner should the House rise, but he betook himself to his own Arbitrary Will and Pleasure, tramples upon, neglected and despis'd the Dignities of Consuls and of Senators. But our present Emperor carries himself in the Consulship as tho he possess'd no other Office. He thinks nothing beneath him that becomes a Consul. When the House is up, he goes home without the least Arrogance or Ostentation usual with Princes, and without any sort of Tumult of his Guards about him; there is so little stir about the Gates at his approaching, that Men without disturbance may stand there meditating upon their Prayers, or Augurs making their Observations. No Man's took down nor turn'd aside, every Man hath his free passage; the Lictors are themselves so modest, that many times the Emperor with the Sword and Mace before him is stop'd himself: He is so moderate in his Office, that one would think some Antient Consul under a good Emperor were passing by. He goes often to the *Forum*, [the Courts of Justice] and frequently upon occasion attends the Election of publick Officers. In  
his

his own proper Person he sits in Court, and takes as much Pleasure there in conferring with those who stand next in succession to the Office, as he did when he us'd their Names in their Election. The Candidates stood before the Prince his Tribunal, as he himself did before the Consuls, and were there sworn in the self-same Terms as the Emperor had sworn before in. For of so great consequence doth he hold the Oath, that he exacts it of all succeeding Magistrates. Other parts of the Day he passes upon the Bench, when with the nicest Equity and most religious observance of the Laws, he does Justice. If in pleading the Council call him Emperor, or say your Majesty; He replies, *No Sir, I'm only Consul*: no other Magistrates Authority or Jurisdiction is in the leastwise less'n'd by his Presence there, but augmented rather. If he refer'd any Causes back to the Pretors, he us'd to call them *his Colleagues*, not because 'twas a taking and a popular expression, *but because he really so accounted them*: he had so much reverence for the Pretor's Dignity, that he thought him worthy to be the Prince's Colleague. Add to this his constant Attendance in the Courts, till his fainting Spirits need refreshment. Which of us takes so much care and pains? Who that hath obtain'd the Office,



labours so much in it, or is so capable? 'Tis truly fit that he who makes the Consuls, should understand the Office as well, nay better than they do. *It would be also unworthy the Emperor's Fortune, to be able only to confer Honours, and not be capable himself to wear them.* When he is to make a Consul, *he ought to teach him.* And he who is to receive this high Office, ought to be persuaded *that he that gives it understands it.* They ought also to know what 'tis they are advanc'd to; for this Reason the Senate both requested and commanded you to accept the Consulship a fourth time. *These Words* by your obeying them seem'd rather a *Command, than Terms of Flattery*: For that in any other thing the Senate can't pretend to compel you, nor can you in any thing obey them so acceptably as in this. For as all Mens Lives, and Princes too, are of but short continuance, *every good Man therefore ought to strive, that he may serve the Commonwealth even when he is in his Grave by leaving Monuments behind him of his Justice and his Moderation,* which he can best establish by being Consul. 'Twas in this prospect that you procur'd and restor'd our Liberties. What Honour should you love then more, or what Title oftner be distinguish'd by than this, wherein you first restor'd the Liberties of the Ro-

*man* People? The Title of Prince denominates a Civil Magistrate as much as that of Consul; and there's a Reason therefore for your Modesty when you call the Consuls your Collegues. I use the Term, because you do by your own Example. They were uneasy to think they were to be made the third time Consuls, till they saw you accept it again. *Nothing can be too little for private Men which the Prince thinks sufficient.* Be pleas'd then, Sir, to grant us our Request; and as you are the Favorite of Heaven, and can obtain there whatsoe'er you ask, deal but with us as you are dealt with there. Perhaps you think that 'tis enough for you to have been three times Consul, but for us we are not satisfied so. What you have done already for us in that capacity, makes us desire and wish you may enjoy the Office over and over. We should not be so zealous, were we not well assur'd you would discharge it well. It had been more tolerable to have conceal'd your Ability from us, than to deny us the benefit of it now 'tis known. Shall we never hope to see you Consul again? Will you hear the repeated Desires and Expostulations of the Senate, and not regard them? Will you no more afford us this mutual Joy and Satisfaction? Shall you who are the Author and



the cause of all our Comfort, thus withdraw your self, and try, as you were wont to do, to restrain our Affections towards you, but without effect? 'Tis however a happy Conflict between the Affection of the Senate, and the Prince his Modesty, let which will get the better. 'Twill, I presume, be matter of uncommon Joy, not less than what we have had already. Who can be so stupid as not to expect that he who hath oftneft enjoy'd the Office, will execute it best? Other Princes when they went out of the Consulship, gave themselves up to sloth, or to their Pleasures, at leastwise they gave over Business. But the Emperor *Trajan* when he lays by the Consuls Office, he resumes the Province of the Prince, he distinguishes so nicely in the matter; the Consuls Office no way extenuates his Imperial Dignity, nor yet aspires beyond its due bounds, tho the Emperor enjoys it. It is remarkable how ready he is to receive all manner of Petitions from the Provinces and Cities. They find no sort of difficulty in being admitted, nor no delays in their Dispatches. They are heard as they come, and have their Answer. Nor is the Emperors Apartment still shut up, and as it were besieg'd by multitudes of Envoys, Agents, Deputies attending.

*What*

*What an intermixture of Mildness is there in your Severity, and with how great Reason and Judgment do you adapt your Clemency in all Cases? Your care is not to enrich the Treasure by Fines and Forfeitures, but to do exact and equal Justice. The Parties stand before you, contending not so much to obtain their Cause, as to go off approv'd and favour'd by you; nor are they so solicitous how their business goes, as what opinion you conceive of them. Is not this a Quality worthy both of a Prince and of a Consul, to reconcile People that were at odds? to quiet Mens minds not so much by your Authority as their Governour, as by Perswasion, and by convincing of their Reason? to sift out what hath been ill adjudg'd before, and vacate what should not have been decreed; and lastly, with the greatest quickness and vivacity to perceive and to determine every thing, and calling to your self the Parties, to advise and to assist them like the Gods themselves? I can't imagine, but that the Creator of the World when he vouchsafes to cast his Eyes below, and to consider the Affairs of mortal Men, he decrees and governs in like sort; that having declar'd you his Vicegerent upon Earth, he rules the Heavens as his own peculiar Province, leaving the lower World to you; and you are capable to do it, since not a Day of your life passes but for the Common good and benefit of the Universe.*

And



And if at any time you are overburden'd with Affairs, your way of recreating your self is but to exchange one business for another. For what leisure have you, but you are out abroad, beating through the Woods, encountering wild Beasts, running over the Rocks and Mountains without the least Assistance given you by any bodies hand, or leaping first before you? and even here you visit Shrines and Places of Devotion. Thus heretofore the *Roman* Youth were wont to learn Experience with their Pleasure: They who aspir'd to become one day Generals, learn'd here their Art, to outrun the swiftest Beasts, to overcome the strongest, and to take the craftiest. Nor was it meanly thought of in times of Peace, to stop the Incurfions of salvage Creatures, and to free the Peasants from the Fear and Danger of them. Those Princes who were themselves no Huntsmen, were however ambitious of the Honour of it; and lov'd to see them tam'd, and broke, and shut up in their Dens, and then for their Diversion let them out again, pursue and kill them with their own Hands in their Parks and Paddocks, as tho'twere out at large. But you take the same pains, and 'tis alike to you to find them as to take them.

And

And if your Majesty be at any time pleas'd to put out to Sea, you don't sit still in your Cabbin, or upon the Quarter-deck looking upon the Sails, but you are sometimes at the Helm, sometimes you take up an Oar, and striving with the stoutest Seamen, you get the better both of Wind and Tide. How unlike this was one of your Predecessors, [ *Domitian* ] who could not bear the Stillness of the Lake of *Alba*, nor the quiet Sea that flows up to *Baiæ*? The very Noise of Rowing, or the least uneven Motion of the Ship, put him into Fears and Sweats: So that the poor Man shut up in the Hold from Noise and Motion, was brought into Port with the Sails furl'd, and look'd as humble till he came on shoar, *as a Calf before the Butcher with his Legs tied*. 'Twas a shameful thing for a *Roman* Emperor thus to be conducted at the Will of Masters and of Pilots, without knowing any thing himself of the matter. Nor hath this Want of Courage and of Conduct been shewn only upon the Sea, but upon some Rivers. The *Rhine* and *Danube* have known somewhat like it, and as shameful; where the Enemy from the opposite Shoar hath stood and view'd the *Roman* Ensigns, Eagles, and our Camp; and have been us'd either in Winter-time

to



to pass the Ice, or in the Summer to surprize us from their Boats.

This Commendation of your Strength of Body would be of small importance, *were it not that your Mind remains superior to command it : Since neither does your Fortune, nor the mighty Affluence of Wealth about you, soften or seduce you off to Sloth or Luxury.* We have reason therefore to admire your strong and healthy Constitution, after so much Pains and Labour undergone both by Sea and Land. I have observ'd mysterious Antiquity to feign the Gods and Goddeses with all their Progeny to have took delight in such sorts of Exercises, as much as in connubial Joys or amorous Embraces with highest Deities.

But if these things be only your Diversions, what are your serious Recreations? Those I take to be your Arts of knowing Men, and taking Observations of their Gravity, Integrity and Temperance. There are none so dissolute, but in their Employes and Places they will shew some sort of Constancy. *Men are ruin'd when they have nothing to do.* Princes generally convert their Hours of Leisure into Gaming, Luxury, and other Debaucheries; spending the time allotted to Diversion in Contrivances of Vice and Folly. Men in high Stations generally are attended with this  
Mis-

Misfortune, That they can do nothing in private: *And for Princes, 'tis not only their Palaces, but their Closets and their privatest Retirements are divulg'd; and if any thing there be injurious to their Fame, 'tis publish'd.*

But nothing, Sir, can conduce so much to the Advancement of your Character, as that all your Actions should be known. They are glorious things which we behold of you in publick, nor can we think your private Conduct to be less. *'Tis great that you restrain and keep your self untainted from all manner of Vice; but much more, that you have also kept your Household free. For as 'tis matter of greater Difficulty to keep others honest than ones self, so is it the more commendable, that you who are the Best of Men, should make others like your self.*

It hath been the Misfortune of many famous Men, either to marry unadvisedly, or to keep their Wives too long when they had lost their Reputation; so that their Infamy at home destroy'd their Character abroad. They might have been great Men in their Generations, had they not been *Hen-peck'd* by their Wives. But your Consort, *SHE IS A GLORY TO YOUR HEAD.* *Nothing was ever yet more pious, nor more primitive.* Were the most Reverend High-priest or Bishop to be married, he either would make choice of her,



her, or one that's like her, *could she be found in Nature.* Her Modesty claims nothing from her Quality, but the Joy of seeing you advanc'd; and she behaves herself with a constant Reverence to your Person more than to your Power. You are both the same you were at first, sensible of no Alteration, only that you have Experience both of you how well you can support Prosperity. How modest is she in her Dress and her Retinue? How courteous in her Carriage? This was her Husband's Work, who thus instructed her and taught her. *For 'tis sufficient Glory to a Wife, to learn to obey her Husband.* When she sees your Majesty go abroad not accompanied with the Terror of insulting Guards, won't she learn also to go out as privately, and to imitate her Husband's going on foot, so far as 'tis allowable to her Sex? 'Twould be but decent for her to do thus, tho you did otherwise. From this so singular a Moderation in your Majesty, with how great Modesty ought she to carry it to her Lord and Husband, *even for her own sake?*

Then for your *Sister*, how sensible is she of her Relation to you? So far indeed, that the same Simplicity, Truth and Candour possesses both of you. Should any Man compare her to the Empress, one might

might be apt to raise a Question, *Whether it be more requisite to a happy Life, to be well educated, or fortunately born? Nothing uses to raise Contention, especially among the Women, like Emulation. This chiefly arises where they live together, or otherwise an Equality of Condition stirs up Envy, and from thence grows Hatred.* This makes the matter more admirable, that two Ladies in the same House of equal Quality and Fortune, yet should have not the least Variance nor Contention. They love and pay a mutual respect to each other; and as they either of them bear the tenderest Affection, Sir, to you, so 'tis equal to them which of them you love best. They are so much the same in their Design and Course of Living, that one can hardly think them two distinct Persons. Their only Study is to imitate and follow you. Wherefore their Customs are alike, because they are the same with yours. Hence springs the Moderation of their Affections, and their perpetual Easiness of Mind: *Nor need they ever fear the Danger of falling back to a private Character, because they never liv'd above it.* The Senate offer'd them the Title of *AUGUSTÆ*, but they both stood out against it, as you oppos'd the Stile of *Pater Patriæ*, and set as great a Value upon being the Emperor's

Wife



Wife and Sister, as if they had been call'd *Augustæ*. But whatever Reasons sway'd with their Modesty, they appear to us so much the more worthy of the Title, because they have declin'd it. *What can be more worthy in the Sex, than to place their Honour not in empty Titles, but in the Esteem and good Opinion of the World; and to make it evident they deserve the highest Appellations, tho they refuse them?*

The present Age was also destitute of what Antiquity esteem'd the highest Blessing, and that is FRIENDSHIP. *The World, instead of it, hath been impos'd upon by Flattery, Deceit, and Love dissimbled, worse than Hatred.* At Court there was an airy Fantom sometimes mention'd, call'd by the Name of Friendship: *But what Friendship could there be, when all the Privy between the Prince and Subject, was but Slave and Tyrant?* But you have once more brought in place this exil'd wandering Jewel. You are bless'd with Friends, because you know how to carry it like a Friend. 'Tis most apparent to your Subjects that you rule by Love: *nor is there any Affection so upright, so free, so unapt to tyrannize, or that so much exacts Returns of Kindness.* It may so happen to a Prince, to become hated even by those for whom he hath no Diskindness; *but he can*

*never*

*never be belov'd, but where he loves.* You retain the same Kindness for your Friends you had before, than which nothing can be more honourable. For tho you are grown above them, yet you are pleased to do all manner of friendly Offices, your Dignity as Emperor no way hindring: nay, you then act mostly as a Prince, when in that Quality you bestow your Favours. Besides, as the Station of a Prince requires Services, so of necessity ought it to be the Prince's Care to make himself Friends: May you ever follow this Course, and constantly retain this among all your other Vertues, *nor ever be persuaded that you act beneath your self, unless you hate.* 'Tis the most desirable thing in the World to be belov'd, and so it is to love; and this you do so remarkably in both respects, that the more you love, the more you are belov'd. 'Tis easier and more natural to expect that one Man should be kind than many. Then you have such a Faculty of obliging, that Men must be ungrateful not to love you.

'Tis a Comfort to us to understand how uneasy it is to you to deny your Friends in any thing: That you dismiss'd a very worthy Citizen, and a Person dear to you, troubled and against your Will, that you could not keep him. It was ap-  
L parent



parent how much you laid it to heart, since you yielded to his Departure contrary to your Inclinations. A thing unheard of, that when the Emperor and his Friend were of two Opinions with relation to that Friend, the latter carried it.

It is moreover a thing worthy to be transmitted to all Posterity, that you created a Prefect of the Prætorian Guards, not among those that sought it, but declin'd it; and that because he coveted Retirement, you allow'd it: That tho you are overborn with publick Cares your self, yet you envy no Man who withdraws.

We understand, Sir, how much we owe you for the Discharge of that laborious Station you are in, when other Men petition and obtain leave from you to withdraw themselves, as the greatest Blessing of this Life. What a Confusion were you in, when you accompanied your Friend, and brought him forward on his Journey? For you went with him and could not refrain; but as you took your leave you embrac'd and kiss'd him. You stood upon the Shoar, and with the tenderest Concern you bid adieu, wishing him with Tears a happy Voyage, and a safe and quick Return.

Your Liberality I shall not enlarge on, nor can any Man express the Bounty and  
Gene-

Generosity you shew'd him; *by which as he became too Great, he grew suspicious to the State.* I no way doubt but that his Mind was to have return'd, and had done so, *but that he found it better to wish your Majesty's Prosperity at a distance, than to enjoy the Happiness of remaining near you to your Prejudice.* And for that other Person whom you had made Prefect of the Prætorian Guards, he had the Honour to be approv'd by you, but yet greater Commendation accrued to him by his refusing it. You at the same time gave proof of your Condescension, that you would detain no Man in your Service against his Will. This was kind, and like a common Parent, *to compel no Man, and to remember always that no Office can be so dear to any as their Freedom, when they desire it.* 'Tis your peculiar Honour, Sir, to give licence to your Officers at their own Request; and tho it be contrary to your Inclinations to permit them to withdraw when they petition: That tho your Friends desire to be dismiss'd, yet you are not deserted; for you can at any time recal as well as suffer Men to retire.

And you, my Lords, for whom the Emperor hath express'd so great regard, it is your Duty to acquiesce in his Opinion here, and to be zealous in it. *For when*



*the Prince hath given testimony that he knows how to be a Friend where 'tis deserv'd, 'tis surely no fault in him if he loves some Men less than others. Who is it that can love him indifferently when he himself submits to, and prescribes not the Rules and Laws of Friendship? One Man would be in the Emperor's favour by being near his Person, another by being absent: they have both their Wish. No Man is troublesome by staying, nor forgotten if he goes. For every Man hath that just notice taken of him which he deserves; tho it be easier for the Emperor to forget a Man's Face who is absent, than to cancel him and his Deservings in his Affections.*

Many of our former Princes, tho Lords over all their Subjects, were yet Slaves to their own Servants, whom they had made their Freed-men. By these Mens Counsels and Advices they were govern'd: These were the Ears, and these the Mouths, they heard and spoke by: These were the Persons by whose means the Offices of Prætors, High Priests, Consuls, were obtain'd. You, Sir, hold your Freed-men in high Esteem, but in no other than becomes their Station; and you look upon it as sufficient, provided they are upright and frugal Men. *For you know it to be an Argument but of a weak Prince, where his Ser-*  
*vants*

*wants grow too Great.* And in the first place you make use of none but such as were approv'd and lov'd either by your self, your Father *Nerva*, or some one of the best of our former Emperors; and these you so immediately give charge to, that they form their Conduct, not according to their Master's Fortunes, but their own. And so much the rather are we inclin'd to pay Respect and Honour to them, because that it proceeds from Choice, and not Necessity.

Was it not for good Reasons that the Senate and People of *Rome* confer'd upon you the Title and Sirname of *Optimus* [the Best of Emperors?] This is an Appellation easily obtain'd by any Prince, tho but of late Invention. 'Tis well known that nobody deserv'd it till your self: For if any body had, it would soon have been thought on. Should we entitle you our most Happy Emperor, that were rather due to your Fortunes, than your Disposition or Carriage towards us. If we should call you *Maximus*, that would look *invidious rather than honourable*. 'Twas one of the Best of Princes who adopted you for his Successor; wherefore the Senate could do no less than give you the Title of *Optimus*. It is so much your Right both by your Merit and by Birth, that when we name



or mention you, we may as well call you *Optimus* as *Trajan*: as heretofore the Families of the *Pilones* were distinguish'd for their *Frugality*, the *Lælii* for their *Wisdom*, and the *Metelli* for their *Piety*; all which Distinctions are contain'd in this one Word, For no body can be the Best, but who excels all others for whatsoever Faculty or Quality they are commended. 'Twas necessary therefore, that after all other Titles this should be annex'd, as being the greater: For 'tis not so much to be Emperor, *Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, as to exceed in Vertue all the Emperors, *Cæsars*, and *Augusti* that ever were before you. For this reason *Jupiter*, whom we esteem the Father of Gods and Men, is ador'd first by the Stile of *Optimus* [the Best] and next by that of *Maximus* [the Greatest] Wherefore your Glory is the greater, since 'tis evident that both these Appellations are your due. Thus have you obtain'd a Name, that can't hereafter be transfer'd; Good Princes won't be able to reach it, and 'twill be a Jest for bad ones to pretend to it. And tho all your Successors should usurp it, yet will it be ever known to be peculiar to you only. For as the Name of *Augustus* minds us of the Person to whom it was first attributed, so this of *Optimus* ever will remind Posterity of you: For so often as future Ages shall

shall have occasion to apply the Term to any, they will remember who it was that acquired it.

And now to thee, O *Nerva*, I appeal: How highly art thou here transported, when from above thou seest and hearest that He's the Best of Men, whom upon Earth as such thou didst adopt? How pleas'd art thou to be compar'd with him thy Son, and by him to be exceeded? For nothing surely in thy exalted Station can be more acceptable, than that thy beloved *Trajan* has deserved the Character of *Optimus* [the Best of Men] And for your self, Great Sir, (if you are not translated and plac'd amongst the ~~Statues~~, your Sta-  
tion will not be much inferior) what Pleasure do you take in observing here a deserving Colonel, there a gallant Soldier, as tho you did discern both by their Air and Countenances that they would one day rise to be Emperors and Princes? With how much Kindness do you emulate your Father *Nerva* in this point, whether it be better to have begot, or to have chosen such a Successor as your self? Hail! to you both for having done so worthily, and brought so vast a Blessing to the Commonwealth. For tho *Trajan's* Vertue procur'd a Triumph to himself, and deified his Father *Nerva*, yet is the Honour full as

*Stars*



great to be confer'd by such a Son, as if he had himself deserv'd it.

I know, my Lords, that every Citizen, and the Consuls chiefly, ought to be so affected, as to think themselves publickly rather than privately obliged. *For as 'tis fairer and more rational to abominate a wicked Prince for the publick Wrongs he hath done, rather than for private Injuries; so is it more specious for Men to love a good Prince because he hath oblig'd Mankind in general, rather than particular or private Persons.* But as 'tis customary upon these occasions for the Consuls in their own behalf to make Acknowledgment how far they are themselves oblig'd to the Imperial Majesty, give me then leave, my Lords, to perform this Duty not only for my self, but for *Cornutus Tertullus*, my Fellow-Consul. For why should not I give Thanks for him, on whose account I am no less oblig'd than on my own? especially since our most Gracious Sovereign hath been pleas'd to confer that on both of us, which had he done but singly to either, he had oblig'd us both. When *Domitian*, that merciless Ravager and Hangman, destroy'd and murder'd our common Friends, then we took Comfort both of us in the same surviving Friends, as we had the same Objects to lament in those he murder'd: And

as we now share equally our Joys and Hopes, so did we then our Griefs and Fears. Our late most Excellent Emperor *Nerva* had so much Consideration for our past Sufferings, that he was pleas'd, so soon as Opportunity offered, to distinguish and advance us as Men of Worth in his Opinion, that it might be the Sign and Token that the Times were altered, when such Men flourished whose chief and only Wish before was, that they might not be so much as known to the Emperor. We had not been full two Years in another great and most laborious Office, when you, Sir, the bravest and the best of Princes, advanc'd us to the Consulship; that the Honour of being soon prefer'd might attend us in this great Station. *This Difference there is between you and other Princes; that they valued themselves upon their Favours by the Difficulty they made to grant them; and thought those Honours would be more acceptable where Men had waited to Despair, and where Delays that look'd like absolute Refusals made them asham'd and pointed at.* We are even asham'd to think how highly you have honoured us by comparing of us to our antient Consuls, for our Love to Justice and to our Country. Whether we deserve so much or no we dare not be so bold as to determine; for as we are not to dero-

gate



gate from what your Majesty hath affirmed, so would it be uneasy to us to profess the Truth, especially of those high and honourable things you have said of us. You are however worthy, Sir, to make such Men Consuls, whose Characters deserve as much. Give us leave, Sir, to acquaint you, that of all your Bounties it was the most grateful Part, that you were pleas'd once more to make us Collegues in the Office. The mutual Friendship between us, our way of living alike, and our Design and Drift the same, required it. For we are so absolutely the same in our Minds and Tempers, that our Identity in this point will lessen the Reputation of our good Agreement; and it will be as much to be wonder'd at if one of us should differ from the other, as if he should disagree and differ with himself. 'Twas not therefore a sudden Motion, and to serve a turn, that we were made Collegues in the Consulship, for another to assume it when the occasion had been over: and altho those who are nominated again to the Office are obliged twice, tho at divers times, we on the other hand have received two Consulships together, have executed them together, have been Consuls one with the other now again.

How

How noble was it, that when we were both of us Lords of the Treasury, before you appointed any to succeed us there, you confer'd upon us the Consulship? You augmented one Dignity by the Addition of another; thereby not only continuing, but multiplying Honours upon us: and thinking it too little to be laid aside when our time expired in one Office, you thought fit to prevent it by giving us another. *Such Confidence you had in our Integrity, that there was no doubt but that of your Royal Care and Bounty you would not suffer us, after the Discharge of so great a Trust, to become private Citizens again.* It was the first Year of your Accession that you made us Consuls; the same Leaf in the Records shall mention your Consulship with ours; our Names also shall be added in the *Roman* Annals in the self-same Year as yours: You were pleas'd to preside at our Election, to declare us chosen with the usual Acclamation; we were made Consuls upon your recommending us, and by your Interest we were as such acknowledg'd. You gave your Suffrage for us in Court, and declar'd the Election in the Field. How honourable is it to us that were thus made Consuls within the same Month that you were born? That it fell to us to publish and to solemnize a Festival upon three accounts:



accounts : First, that within this Month the worst of Princes died, the best succeeded, and a better than the best of them was born. The Solemnity of our Passage through the City in our Chariot will be the more August, by reason that we have the Royal Presence with us. We shall make our Entry chearfully amidst the Prayers and good Wishes of the People, who on all sides will surround us with Huzza's and Shouts. But above all, methinks you are for this to be commended, for that having made us Consuls, you allow us freely to perform the Duty of our Office. Here's neither Fear nor Danger from the Prince, either to perplex our Minds, or overaw us ; no threatening Speeches to be curb'd with, nor compulsive Orders to be comply'd with in pronouncing Judgment. The Place maintains its Dignity, *nor are we afraid of being affronted or assaulted because we are in Office.* And if the Dignity of our Station happens in any thing to be diminished, the Fault must lie on our side, and not upon the Government. For, as for the Emperor's part, we are as free to act as Consuls, as when there was yet no Emperor. We never can be capable to express our Acknowledgments to you hereafter for so many Favours done us, but by reflecting  
back

back that we were once made Consuls, *and by your Appointment.* This we shall constantly remember, and behave ourselves according to our Character. We shall so manage Affairs with relation to the Publick, as tho we still liv'd under the Commonwealth: nor shall we think ourselves dismiss'd, and to have no further Interest in the Consulship, but that we are bound, sworn, and obliged to hold it, as a Place of Care and Labour, as well as of Dignity and Honour.

Lastly then; Here as Consul I implore the Gods, and chiefly thee O *Jupiter*, the Supreme Governor and Preserver of the *Roman* Empire, That thou wouldst be favourable to what thou hast done for us; and that to the rest of all thy Favours thou wouldst add a long Continuance. Thou hast heard the Prayers we made against a Tyrant; vouchsafe, we pray thee, now to grant us the Requests we make for a gracious Sovereign. We do not importune thee for Peace, for Concord, or for Safety, neither do we pray for Wealth or Honour; but what we have to ask, 'tis all compriz'd in this one Wish, *The Emperor's long Life.* 'Tis not a new Request we make, for you preserv'd and saved him from the Jaws of a most merciless Destroyer: Nor could he, when the highest Cedars



dars trembled, who exceeded all of them in height, have stood, but by the Divine Assistance. 'Twas his good Fortune to be overlook'd by a wicked Prince, who could not but receive the best regards from a good one. Thou gavest, O *Jupiter*, a signal Testimony of thy Approbation of him, when as he went forth to the Army thou didst receive him into thine own Care and Patronage. Thy Opinion of him was pronounc'd by *Nerva*: thou didst make choice of him to be to him a Son, to us a common Parent, and to thy self the Chief and Highest of thy Priesthood: Wherefore with greater Confidence I will repeat those Prayers, and in the self-same manner as he the Emperor allows, *That if he governs well the Empire, and to the publick Benefit of all*, First, that thou wouldst preserve him both to us and to our Children after us. Next, when thou shalt appoint another to succeed him, *whether he begets or breeds him, may he be like himself at his Adoption*: Or if Fate or Nature shall deny him this, *Do thou assist him in his Choice*; and shew him *such a Person* as may deserve to be adopted in the Capitol.

To you, my Noble Lords, how much and greatly I'm oblig'd, it will remain recorded in the publick Acts and Monuments of the State. You have all of you  
been

been pleased to express your ample Approbation of our modest and peaceable Deemeanor both as Tribunes and as Prætors; and also in those other Offices by you enjoyn'd us for the Defence of our Allies. You have approv'd of my particular Behaviour in the Consulship with that favourable regard towards me, that I shall ever think my self oblig'd to return my utmost Thanks, and to endeavour to deserve your good Opinion. *Nay I shall ever think those Men deserve Preferments whom I see you advance.* I pray you only furthermore to favour my present Purposes, and to believe that tho I began to be employ'd under that most insidious Emperor *Domitian*, before he had yet profess'd his Enmity to all good Men, so soon as he declar'd his impious Meaning I gave over; *and when I saw what Courses Men must take to gain Preferments, I chose rather for the present to sit still, and wait with Patience.* If in ill times I was to be accounted one amongst the Sad and Fearful, now in better I may be enumerated among the Fortunate and Happy. Lastly, my Noble Lords, I ask your Favour and Permission to express the Love and Duty I owe a good Prince, so much the rather *because I was obnoxious to a bad one.* I ever shall retain that Reverence and that Respect for all of you, as not to assume or over-



overvalue my self as Consul now, nor as a Person of Consular Dignity when my Year is finish'd; but always shall I endeavour to behave my self, as tho I appear'd no otherwise before you, but as a Candidate for the Consulship.

---

*FINIS.*